

T H E

CRITICAL REVIEW.

For A U G U S T, 1795.

Letters containing a Sketch of the Politics of France, from the Thirty-first of May 1793, till the Twenty-eighth of July 1794, and of the Scenes which have passed in the Prisons of Paris. By Helen Maria Williams. 12mo. 7s. Boards. Robinsons. 1795.

OUR readers will recollect that the two last volumes published by this elegant letter-writer were, for obvious but melancholy reasons, published anonymous. The atmosphere of France was then obscured by a sanguine cloud; but she now invites her readers to hail the morning of a brighter day, and to rejoice in the return of confidence, liberty, and security, to a land which had been long wrapt in mourning and overflowed with blood.

Those who have been pleased (and what reader has not?) with the former volumes of our amiable writer, will rejoice on many accounts that she is able to resume her pen.—They will expect much original and curious information, and consequently much entertainment from the present. How far *their* expectations may be answered, we will not presume to determine; but, for ourselves, we are bound in justice to confess that we have been even more interested in these Letters than we were in the preceding. The facts indeed are in general more striking, the narrative more addressed to the social and domestic sympathies. We could not help remarking also some change in the political sentiments of our author; and from her we may judge that a similar salutary change is wrought upon the inhabitants of France in general. When we say a *change*, we would not be understood to speak of a change of principles; the principles of Miss Williams remain the same, and she is still substantially as much the friend of liberty as before; but her *sentiments* are corrected by that great teacher—experience. We no longer discern the wild enthusiasm of democracy,—no longer the same prejudices against aristocracy, which were cherished in France in the first periods of the revolution,

C. R. N. ARR, (XIV.) *August*, 1795. C c

volution, and which our author had in some degree imbibed,—no longer the same fond expectation of *perfectibility* in human affairs, nor the same attachment to political speculation and theory. We shall be glad to hail these appearances as the omens of returning order, prudence, and moderation, in the French,—convinced as we are, that they who do not extend too far their speculative notions of liberty will be most likely to accomplish the establishment of a good practical system of freedom, and to unite the advantages of a firm and secure government with internal prosperity and individual happiness.

In treating of such a work as that before us, we shall do more justice to the writer by selecting a few extracts, than by in vain attempting any abstract or analysis. It is generally known that Miss Williams, in common with all the other English, was committed to prison, in consequence of the decree for arresting the natives of those states which were at war with the republic. These volumes therefore commence with an account of her arrest, which is interesting.

‘ One evening when Bernardin St. Pierre, the author of the charming little novel of Paul and Virginia, was drinking tea with me, and while I was listening to a description he gave me of a small house which he had lately built in the centre of a beautiful island of the river that flows by Essonne, which he was employed in decorating, and where he meant to realise some of the lovely scenes which his fine imagination has pictured in the Mauritius, I was suddenly called away from this fairy land by the appearance of a friend, who rushed into the room, and with great agitation told us that a decree had just passed in the national convention, ordering all the English in France to be put into arrestation in the space of four-and-twenty hours, and their property to be confiscated. We passed the night without sleep, and the following day in anxiety and perturbation not to be described, expecting every moment the commissaries of the revolutionary committee and their guards, to put in force the mandates of the convention. As the day advanced, our terror increased: in the evening we received information that most of our English acquaintances were conducted to prison. At length night came; and no commissaries appearing, we began to flatter ourselves that, being family of women, it was intended that we should be spared; for the time was only now arrived when neither sex nor age gave any claim to compassion. Overcome with fatigue and emotion, we went to bed, with some faint hopes of exemption from the general calamity of our countrymen. These hopes were however but of short duration. At two in the morning we were awakened by a loud knocking at the gate of the hotel, which we well knew to be the fatal signal of our approaching captivity; and a few minutes after, the bell of our apartments was rung with violence. My sister and myself hurried

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on our clothes and went with trembling steps to the anti-chamber, when we found two commissaries of the revolutionary committee of our section, accompanied by a guard, two of whom were placed at the outer door with their swords drawn, while the rest entered the room. One of these constituted authorities held a paper in his hand, which was a copy of the decree of the convention, and which he offered to read to us; but we declined hearing it, and told him we were ready to obey the law. Seeing us pale and trembling, he and his colleague endeavoured to comfort us; they begged us to compose ourselves; they repeated that our arrestation was only part of a general political measure, and that innocence had nothing to fear.—Alas! innocence was no longer any plea for safety. They took a procès-verbal of our names, ages, the country where we were born, the length of time we had lived in France; and when this register was finished, we were told that we must prepare to depart. We were each of us allowed to take as much clean linen as we could tie up in a handkerchief, and which was all the property which we could now call our own; the rest, in consequence of the decree, being seized by the nation. Sometimes, under the pressure of a great calamity, the most acute sensations are excited by little circumstances which form a part of the whole, and serve in the retrospect of memory, like certain points in a landscape, to call up the surrounding scenery: such is the feeling with which I recall the moments when, having got out of our apartments, we stood upon the stair-case surrounded with guards, while the commissaries placed the seals on our doors. The contrast between the prison where we were going to be led, and that home which was now closed against us, perhaps for years, filled my heart with a pang for which language has no utterance. Some of the guards were disposed to treat us with rudeness; which the commissaries sternly repressed, and, ordering them to keep at some distance, made us lean on their arms, for they saw we stood in need of support, in our way to the committee-room. We found this place crowded with commissaries and soldiers, some sleeping, some writing, and others amusing themselves with pleasantries of a revolutionary nature, to which we listened trembling. Every half-hour a guard entered, conducting English prisoners, among whom were no women but ourselves. Here we passed the long night; and at eight in the morning our countrymen were taken to the prison of the Madelonettes, while we were still detained at the committee. We discovered afterwards that this was owing to the humanity of the commissaries who arrested us, and who sent to the municipality to know if we might not be taken to the Luxembourg, where we should find good accommodations, while at the Madelonettes' scarcely a bed could be procured. All that compassion could dictate, all the lenity which it was in the power of these commissaries to display without incurring ten years imprisonment, the penalty annexed to leaving us at liberty, we experienced.

Humanity from members of a revolutionary committee! You will perhaps exclaim in the language of the Jews, "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" It is certain, however, strange as it may seem, that our two commissaries behaved towards us as if they remembered that we were defenceless women in a land of strangers; that we were accused of no crime except that of being born on the soil of England; and that, if we were punished, we had only deserved it by trusting with too easy a belief in that national faith which was now violated. By the way, when I tell you that we experienced compassion from revolutionary committees, you will not suppose I mean to assert that compassionate men formed the majority of their committees. The greater part of mankind in all ages, even when accustomed to the most elevated rank, have abused power: how then could it be hoped that unlimited power would not be abused, which was confided to men who were for the most part ignorant and unenlightened; men who, till that period, confined to their shops and their manual occupations, were suddenly transported into splendid hotels, with authority to unlock cabinets blazing with jewels, to seize upon heaps of uncounted gold, and with a stroke of their pens to disperse as many warrants for imprisonment, as caprice, envy, or mistaken zeal might prompt; who were made arbiters of the liberty, property, and even lives of their fellow-citizens; and who were incited, nay even compelled, to acts of violence under the penalty of being branded with the guilt of *moderantism*? When such was the new-established system, when it required the most daring courage to be humane, and when to be cruel was to be safe, can you wonder, that among the revolutionary committees in general there was not "as much pity to be found as would fill the eye of a wren?" After passing the whole day, as we had done the night, in the committee-room, orders arrived from the municipality to send us to the former palace, now the prison of the Luxembourg, where we were attended by two guards within each coach, while two walked on each side. What strange sensations I felt as I passed through the streets of Paris, and ascended the steps of the Luxembourg, a sad spectacle to the crowd! We were conducted to the range of apartments above the former rooms of state, where we were received with the utmost civility by the keeper of the prison, Benoit, a name which many a wretch has blessed, for many a sorrow his compassion and gentleness have softened. His heart was indeed but ill suited to his office; and often he incurred the displeasure of those savages by whom he was employed, and who wished their victims to feel the full extent of their calamity, unmitigated by any detail of kindness, any attention to those little wants which this benevolent person was anxious to remove, or those few comforts which he had the power to bestow. The barbarians thought it not enough to load their victims with iron, unless "it entered into their souls." But Benoit was not to be intimidated into cruelty. Without deviating from his duty,

duty, he pursued his steady course of humanity ; and may the grateful benedictions of the unhappy have ascended for him to heaven !"
Vol. i. p. 6.

The description of a French state prison in these disastrous times is (happily for us) new to an English reader —

‘ Our prison was filled with a multitude of persons of different conditions, characters, opinions and countries, and seemed an epitome of the whole world. The mornings were devoted to business, and passed in little occupations, of which the prisoners sometimes complained, but for which perhaps they had reason to be thankful, since less leisure was left them to brood over their misfortunes. Every one had an appointed task : in each chamber the prisoners, by turns, lighted the fires, swept the rooms, arranged the beds ; and those who could not afford to have dinner from a tavern, or, as the rich were yet permitted, from their own houses, prepared themselves their meals. Every chamber formed a society subject to certain regulations : a new president was chosen every day, or every week, who enforced its laws and maintained good order. In some chambers no person was allowed to sing after ten, in others, after eleven at night. This restriction would, perhaps, have been superfluous in England in a similar situation ; but it was highly necessary here, since it prevented such of the prisoners as were more light-hearted than the rest from singing all night long, to the annoyance of others of their neighbours who might think the music which resounded through the prison during the day fully sufficient. The system of equality, whatever opposition it met with in the world, was in its full extent practised in the prison. United by the strong tie of common calamity, the prisoners considered themselves as bound to soften the general evil by mutual kind offices ; and strangers meeting in such circumstances soon became friends. The poor lived not upon the crumbs which fell from the rich man’s table, but shared the comforts of the repast ; and here was found a community of the small stock of goods which belonged to the whole, without the necessity of a requisition. One broom, which was the property of a countess, was used by twenty delicate hands to sweep the respective apartments ; and a tea-kettle with which a friend furnished my mother was literally, as Dr. Johnson observed of his own, “ never allowed time to cool,” but was employed from morning till night in furnishing the English with tea.

‘ In the afternoon the prisoners met in an anti-chamber, which commanded a view of the gardens. Here they formed themselves into groups : some conversed, others walked up and down the room ; others gazed from the windows on the walks below, where, perhaps, they recognized a relation or a friend, who, being denied the privilege of visiting the prison, had come to sooth them by a look or tear of sympathy. During the first days of our confinement, the

prisoners were permitted to see their friends; and many a striking contrast of gaiety and sorrow did the anti-chamber then exhibit. In one part of the room, lively young people were amusing their visitors by a thousand little pleasantries on their own situation; in another, a husband who was a prisoner was taking leave of his wife who had come to see him, and shedding tears over his child who was clinging to his knees, or had thrown its arms around his neck and refused to be torn from its father. As the number of prisoners increased, which they did so rapidly, that in less than a week they were augmented from an hundred to a thousand, the rules of the prison became more severe, and the administrators of the police gave strict orders, that no person whatever should be admitted. After this period the wives of some of the prisoners came regularly every day, bringing their children with them to the terrace of the gardens. You often saw the mother weeping, and the children stretching out their little hands and pointing to their fathers, who stood with their eyes fixed upon the objects of their affection: but sometimes a surly sentinel repressed these melancholy effusions of tenderness, by calling to the persons in the walk to keep off, and make no signs to the prisoners.—In the mean time, among the crowd that filled the public room were fine gentlemen and fine ladies, who had held the highest rank at court, some flirting together, others making appointments for card parties or music in their own apartments in the evening, and others relating to us in pathetic language all they had suffered, and all they had lost by the revolution. It was impossible not to sympathize in the distresses of some, or avoid wondering at the folly of others, in whom the strong sense of danger could not overcome the feelings of vanity; and who, although the tremendous decree had just gone forth, making “terror the order of the day,” and knowing that the fatal pre-eminence of rank was the surest passport to the guillotine, could not resist using the proscribed nomenclature of “Madame la duchesse,” “Monsieur le comte,” &c. which seemed to issue from their lips like natural melodies to which the ear has long been accustomed, and which the voice involuntarily repeats. There were, however, among the captive nobility many persons who had too much good sense not to observe a different conduct, who had proved themselves real friends to liberty, had made important sacrifices in its cause, and who had been led to prison by revolutionary committees on pretences the most trivial, and sometimes from mistakes the most ludicrous. Such was the fate of the former count and countess of ———, who had distinguished themselves from the beginning of the revolution by the ardour of their patriotism and the largeness of their civic donations. They had hitherto lived undisturbed in their splendid hotel, and there they might probably have continued to live a little longer, had not the countess, in an evil hour, sent down to her chateau a fine marble hearth, which by some accident was broken on the way. The steward sent a letter, in which,

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among other things, he mentioned that the "foyer * must be repaired at Paris." The letter was intercepted and read by the revolutionary committee. They swore, they raged at the dark designs of aristocracy. "Here," said they, "is a daring plot indeed! a foyer of counter-revolution, and to be repaired at Paris! We must instantly seize the authors and the accomplices." In vain the countess related the story of the hearth, and asserted that no conspiracy lurked beneath the marble: both herself and her husband were conducted to the maison d'arrêt of their section, from which we saw them arrive at the Luxembourg with about sixty other persons at the hour of midnight, after having been led through the streets in procession by the light of an immense number of flambeaux, and guarded by a whole battalion. These prisoners had at least the consolation of finding themselves in the society of many of their friends and acquaintances, for all the polite part of the fauxbourg St. Germain might be said to be assembled at the Luxembourg in mass. Imprisonment here was, however, no longer the exclusive distinction of former nobility, but was extended to great numbers of the former third estate. We had priests, physicians, merchants, shop-keepers, actors and actresses, French valets and English waiting-women, all assembled together in the public room; but in the private apartments Benoit's benevolent heart taught him the most delicate species of politeness, by placing those persons together who were most likely to find satisfaction in each others' society.

' Amidst many an eloquent tale of chateaux levelled with the ground, and palaces where, to borrow an image of desolation from Ossian, "the fox might be seen looking out at the window," we sometimes heard the complaints of simple sorrow unallied to greatness; but, like the notes of the starling, "so true in time to nature were they chanted," that they seized irresistibly on the heart. Of this kind was a scene which passed sometimes between a poor English woman and her dog, which she had brought to keep her company in her captivity. She had been house-keeper in a French family, and, some months before she was imprisoned, had sent her daughter, who was her only child, to her friends in England. The poor woman often exclaimed, while her face was bathed in tears, "Oh, Charlotte, Charlotte, I shall never see you again!" Whenever the dog heard the name of Charlotte, he began to howl in so melancholy a note that it was impossible not to sympathise in his lamentation.

' The most frightful circumstance which attended our arrestation were the visits of Henriot, the commandant of the military force of Paris. This wretch had been one of the executioners on the second of September, and was appointed by the commune of Paris on the 31st of May to take the command of the national guard, to point the

* *Foyer* is the French name for hearth, and also for the central point of a system.'

cannon against the convention, to violate the representation of the people, and to act the prelude of that dark drama of which France has been the desolated scene, and Europe the affrighted spectator. Henriot performed his part so much to the satisfaction of his employers, that he was continued in his command; and it was a part of his office to visit the prisons, and take care that they were properly guarded. The first time I saw him was the day after our confinement. He entered on a sudden our apartment, brandishing his sword, and accompanied by twelve of his officers. There was something in his look which did not give you simply the idea of the ferocity which is sometimes to be found among civilized Europeans: his fierceness seemed to be of that kind which belongs to a cannibal of New Zealand; and he looked not merely as if he longed to plunge his sabre in our bosoms, but to drink a libation of our blood. He poured forth a volley of oaths and imprecations, called out to know how many guillotines must be erected for the English, and did not leave our chamber till one person who was present had fainted with terror. In this manner he visited every apartment, spreading consternation and dismay; and these visits were repeated three or four times in a week. Whenever the trampling of his horse's feet was heard in the court-yard, the first prisoner who distinguished the well-known sound gave the alarm, and in one moment the public room was cleared; every person flying with the precipitation of fear to his own apartment. Every noise was instantly hushed; a stillness like that of death pervaded the whole dwelling; and we remained crouching in our cells, like the Greeks in the cave of Polyphemus, till the monster disappeared. The visits of the administrators of police, though not so terrific as those of Henriot, were nothing less than soothing. Brutality, as well as terror, was the order of the day; and those public functionaries, whose business it was not only to see that the police of the prison was well regulated, but also to hear if the prisoners had any subject of complaint, used to make the enquiry in a tone of such ferocity, that, whatever oppressions might hang on the heart, the lips lost the power of giving them utterance. The visits of the police generally produced some additional rigour to our confinement; and in a short time all access to us whatever was forbidden except by letters, which were sent open, and delivered to us after being examined by the sentinels. There was sometimes room for deep meditation on the strange caprice and vicissitudes of fortune. We found the ex-minister Amelot a prisoner in the Luxembourg; he, who during his administration had distributed lettres de cachet with so much liberality. Tyranny had now changed its instruments, and he was become himself the victim of despotism with new insignia: the blue ribband had given place to the red cap, and "de par le roi" was transformed into "par mesure de sûreté générale." By his order La Tude, whose history is so well known, had been confined thirty years in the Bastille. He was now enjoying the sweets of liberty; and, before the prison-doors were shut against strangers,

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came frequently to visit some of his friends in the very-room where the minister was imprisoned.

Amelot, in a comfortable apartment and surrounded by society, did not bear his confinement with the same firmness as La Tude had borne the solitude of his dungeon, cheered only by the plaintive sounds of his flute of reeds. He was in a short time bereft of his reason; and, among the wanderings of his imagination, used to address letters to all the kings of Europe and all the emigrant princes, inviting them to sumptuous repasts, to which he sometimes proposed admitting the national convention, to shew that he was above bearing malice.

Whenever any new prisoners arrived, the rest crowded around them, and hastened to calm their minds by the most soothing expressions of sympathy. Not such were the emotions excited by the appearance of Maillard, who was one of the murderers on the second of September, and who had lately been appointed to a command in the revolutionary army; from which, for some malversations, he was now dismissed, sent to prison, and ordered into close confinement. He had taken a very active part in the late transactions, and had, a few days before his own arrest, conducted to prison two fine boys, who were the sons of the ex-minister La Tour du Pin, together with their governor, who was a priest. They were stepping into a carriage, which was to convey them to school, when they were seized upon by Maillard, who taking the youngest, a child of eleven years of age, by the shoulder, said to him in a stern accent, "*Il faut dire la vérité, toute la vérité, et rien que la vérité.*" No sooner was Maillard brought into the anti-chamber, while his room was preparing, than the little boy recognized his acquaintance, and running up to him cried, "*Bon jour, citoyen Maillard—il faut dire la vérité, toute la vérité, et rien que la vérité.*" Vol. i. p. 18.

The remainder of the first volume contains many affecting narratives relative to the unfortunate victims of democratic tyranny. In the second volume our attention was particularly arrested by the fate of the famous Madame du Barry.

Among the crowds who were led to the guillotine, two persons only displayed strong marks of dismay and terror. One of these persons was Madame du Barry, the mistress of Lewis XV. She had been induced to leave England, where she passed some time after the revolution, and return to France, in order to secure her property; and soon after the 31st of May was led from her beautiful pavilion at Lucienne, to a prison in Paris, by one of the agents of terrorism, who, I am sorry to add, was an Englishman. The prisons, to use a French mode of expression, in a short time became the anti-chambers of the scaffold; and Madame du Barry's mind was impressed strongly with a presage of her fate. Whenever the door of her chamber in the prison opened, she was seized with violent trembling,

trembling, and sometimes with fainting fits. At length the fatal summons to the revolutionary tribunal arrived. The chief evidence against her was a negro slave, whom she had reared from an infant, and to whom she was so much attached, that he was generally to be found in her apartments; and one day Lewis XV. sportively created him governor of Lucienne, with a pension of six hundred livres a year, which this viper, who stung the bosom that cherished him, still enjoys.

One of the most flagrant testimonies which were produced of Madame du Barry's counter-revolutionary principles was Mr. Pitt's picture, which she said had been given to her the night before her departure from London by lord Thurlow. This unfortunate woman was condemned to die; and a person of my acquaintance who was at that time a prisoner in the Conciergerie told me, that she was deluded with the promise of pardon provided she would discover the spot where she acknowledged that some treasures were concealed; but no sooner were they found, than she was ordered to execution. During her passage thither she appeared almost dead, and leaned her head upon the shoulder of the executioner. But when she reached the square of the revolution, the sight of the instrument of death rallied her sinking spirits, and called forth the most cruel agonies of reluctant nature. She rent the air with her shrieks, and was deaf to the expostulations of Noil, a deputy of the Gironde, who perished at the same time, and who encouraged her to resign herself to a fate which was inevitable. Her convulsed frame acquired extraordinary strength: she struggled with her executioners, and, after a conflict at which humanity shudders, was forced to undergo the fatal stroke, and released from frantic desperation.

'With Madame du Barry perished the banker Vanderuyver, and his two sons, accused of being her accomplices in sending money into England, and also of having aided the knights of the poniard, as they were called, in the chateau of the Thuilleries on the memorable 10th of August, although twenty-five witnesses attended to prove that Vanderuyver had not quitted his house during the whole of that day. But those who first appeared in his favour being arrested as they went out of court, the others made their escape, and left this unhappy family to their fate.' Vol. ii. p. 41.

This is succeeded by a very curious detail of the calamities inflicted on the city of Lyons, and an apparently very authentic account of the origin of the war in La Vendée.—But both are too long for insertion.

From the specimens which we have given, our readers will see that the style of Miss Williams is not enfeebled by her long confinement, nor obscured by a residence in a foreign country,—a circumstance which in English writers (we might instance Mr. Gibbon) is often fatal to their native idiom, and that characteristic simplicity which in general marks the compositions
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of our literati. We could have added some fine specimens of Miss Williams's descriptive powers; but we regarded the passages which we have selected, as more likely to gratify the immediate curiosity of our readers.

A View of the Evidences of Christianity in Three Parts.—Part I. Of the direct Historical Evidence of Christianity, and wherein it is distinguished from the Evidence alledged for other Miracles.—Part II. Of the Auxiliary Evidences of Christianity.—Part III. A brief Consideration of some popular Objections. By William Paley, M. A. Archdeacon of Carlisle. 3 Vols. 12mo. 10s. 6d. sewed. Faulder. 1794.

THE reputation which archdeacon Paley had acquired by his former publications, and the merit in particular of his *Horæ Paulinæ*, have not only secured for the work before us a very favourable reception, but something more substantial to the author. In this instance at least, — whatever may have been said of the backwardness of the episcopal bench in encouraging amongst the clergy those who by their writings do honour to their profession, — there can be no imputation of neglect; on the contrary, the emoluments which have been showered upon the present occasion will fully justify the language of the proverb, that *it cannot rain, but it pours*. May Mr. Paley long live to enjoy what he so amply possesses!

The View of the Evidences of Christianity, here presented, is introduced by *Preparatory Considerations*, which — taking the necessity of a revelation for granted, because the author hath never met with any serious person that thinks even under the Christian revelation we have too much light, or any assurance which is superfluous, — and stating that in judging of Christianity the question lies between this religion and none, — proceeds — on the supposition of the world having had a Creator, the moral and accountable nature of man, the expectation of a future state, and the utility of a revelation, — to inquire, whether, all circumstances considered, it were improbable that a revelation should have been made? or, if mankind were designed for a future state, it were unlikely that God should acquaint them with it? Hence it is inferred that, if there be a revelation, there must be miracles. Mr. Hume's argument against miracles is then examined and confuted, and the author advances to the *first part* of his work, which he endeavours to establish on these two propositions:

‘ I. That there is satisfactory evidence that many, professing to be original witnesses of the Christian miracles, passed their lives in labours, dangers and sufferings, voluntarily undergone in attestation
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of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of those accounts; and that they also submitted from the same motive to new rules of conduct.

“ II. That there is *not* satisfactory evidence that persons professing to be original witnesses of other miracles, in their nature as certain as these are, have ever acted in the same manner, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and properly in consequence of their belief of those accounts.’ Vol. i. p. 18.

The consideration of the former proposition is extended through nine chapters, the first of which sets out with showing, that, as the Christian religion exists, and therefore by some means or other was established, the founder of the institution, his associates and immediate followers, acted the part imputed to them; which they did in attestation of the miraculous history recorded in our Scriptures, and solely in consequence of the belief of the truth of this history. After illustrating these positions with a variety of remark, the author, in the second chapter, taking notice that ‘the obscure and distant view of Christianity, which some of the heathen writers of the age had gained, and which a few passages in their remaining works incidentally discover to us, offers itself to our notice: because, so far as this evidence goes, it is the concession of adversaries, and the source from which it is drawn is unsuspected,’—thence goes on to cite from Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, Pliny the younger, Martial, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius, whatever can be found that applies to his purpose. But as from heathen writers a distant only and general view of the primitive condition of Christianity can be acquired, the third chapter seeks the detail and interior of the history from the writings of Christians themselves:—for who would write a history of Christianity but a Christian?

‘ We have four histories of Jesus Christ. We have a history taking up the narrative from his death, and carrying on an account of the propagation of the religion, and of some of the most eminent persons engaged in it, for a space of nearly thirty years. We have what some may think still more original, a collection of letters, written by certain principal agents in the business, upon the business, and in the midst of their concern and connection with it. And we have these writings severally attesting the point which we contend for, viz. the sufferings of the witnesses of the history, and attesting it in every variety of form in which it can be conceived to appear; directly and indirectly, expressly and incidentally, by assertion, recital and allusion, by narratives of facts, and by arguments and discourses built upon these facts, either referring to them, or necessarily presupposing them.’ Vol. i. p. 63.

‘ Having then considered first, the prevalency of the [*Christian*] religion at this hour ;—secondly, the only credible account which can be given of its original, viz. the activity of the founder and his associates ;—thirdly, the opposition which that activity must naturally have excited ;—fourthly, the fate of the founder of the religion, attested by heathen writers as well as our own ;—fifthly, the testimony of the same writers to the sufferings of Christians, either contemporary with, or immediately succeeding, the original settlers of the institution ; — sixthly, predictions of the sufferings of his followers ascribed to the founder of the religion, which ascription alone proves, either that such predictions were delivered and fulfilled, or that the writers of Christ’s life were induced by the event to attribute such predictions to him ;—seventhly, letters now in our possession, written by some of the principal agents in the transaction, and referring expressly to extreme labours, dangers, and sufferings, sustained by themselves, and their companions ;—lastly, a history purporting to be written by a fellow traveller of one of the new teachers, and, by its unsophisticated correspondency with letters of that person still extant, proving itself to be written by some one well acquainted with the subject of the narrative, which history contains accounts of travels, persecutions, and martyrdoms, answering to what the former reasons lead us to expect.’ Vol. i. p. 123.

‘ When we lay together these considerations, there cannot much doubt remain upon our minds, but that a number of persons at that time appeared in the world, publicly advancing an extraordinary story, and, for the sake of propagating the belief of that story, voluntarily incurring great personal dangers, traversing seas and kingdoms, exerting great industry, and sustaining great extremities of ill usage and persecution. It is also proved that the same persons, in consequence of their persuasion, or pretended persuasion of the truth of what they asserted, entered upon a course of life in many respects new and singular.’ Vol. i. p. 125.

From the clear and acknowledged parts of the case, the author, in the sixth chapter, infers it to be in the highest degree probable that the story for which these persons voluntarily exposed themselves to the fatigues and hardships they endured, was a *miraculous* story,—that is, that they pretended to miraculous evidence of one kind or other. This deduction being well illustrated, we are brought in the seventh chapter to the question, whether the account which our Scriptures contain be that story which these men delivered, and for which they acted and suffered as they did,—or, in other words, whether the story which Christians have *now*, be the story which Christians had *then*. Of this various proofs are deduced from general considerations prior to any inquiry into the particular reasons

sons and testimonies by which the authority of our histories is supported. The author thence proceeds, in the eighth chapter, more directly, to the particulars and the detail of the narrative, which leads him to investigate what credit the historical books of the New Testament deserve, whether taken separately, or in the aggregate: and having hence shewn that the records we possess contain, not a naked or solitary testimony, but a *collection of proofs*, of such a kind, and in such a state, as the natural order of things in the infancy of the institution might be expected to produce, he goes on to establish the genuineness of the historical books of the New Testament, and, in the ninth chapter more at large, the authenticity of the Scriptures. This chapter, commencing with some pertinent observations that immediately refer to the books themselves, adverts more at large to the argument from testimony, exhibiting under the following summary the allegations which are capable of being established by proof, which are considered in so many distinct sections, with the necessary authorities subjoined.

‘ I. That the historical books of the New Testament, meaning thereby the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, are quoted, or alluded to, by a series of Christian writers, beginning with those who were contemporary with the apostles, or who immediately followed them, and proceeding in close and regular succession from their time to the present.

‘ II. That when they are quoted, or alluded to, they are quoted or alluded to with peculiar respect, as books *sui generis*, as possessing an authority which belonged to no other books, and as conclusive in all questions and controversies amongst Christians.

‘ III. That they were, in very early times, collected into a distinct volume.

‘ IV. That they were distinguished by appropriate names and titles of respect.

‘ V. That they were publicly read and expounded in the religious assemblies of the early Christians.

‘ VI. That commentaries were written upon them, harmonies formed out of them, different copies carefully collated, and versions of them made into different languages.

‘ VII. That they were received by Christians of different sects, by many heretics as well as catholics, and usually appealed to by both sides in the controversies which arose in those days.

‘ VIII. That the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles of St. Paul, the first Epistle of John, and the first of Peter, were received, without doubt, by those who doubted concerning the other books which are included in our present canon.

‘ IX. That the Gospels were attacked by the early adversaries of Christianity, as books containing the accounts upon which the religion was founded.

'X. That formal catalogues of authentic Scriptures were published; in all which our present sacred histories were included.

'XI. That these propositions cannot be affirmed of any other books, claiming to be books of Scripture; by which I mean those books, which are commonly called apocryphal books of the New Testament.' Vol. i. p. 212.

Having thus closed the discussion of the first proposition, Mr. Paley advances to the second, viz.

'That there is *not* satisfactory evidence, that persons pretending to be original witnesses of any other similar miracles, have acted in the same manner, in attestation of the accounts which they delivered, and solely in consequence of their belief of the truth of those accounts.' Vol. ii. p. .

In stating the comparison between our evidence and what our adversaries may bring into competition with ours, the distinctions proposed are divided into two kinds,—those which relate to the proof, and those which relate to the miracles. Under the former head are laid out of the case—such accounts as are found only in histories by some ages posterior to the transaction, and of which it is evident the historian could know little more than his reader,—accounts published in one country, of what passed in a distant country, without any proof that such accounts were known and received at home,—*transient rumors*,—*naked history**,—such stories of supernatural events, as required on the part of the hearer nothing more than simple assent,—stories upon which nothing depends, in which no interest is involved, nothing is to be done or changed in consequence of believing them,—and accounts which come merely in *affirmance* of opinions already formed. As these distinctions, which, in *appreciating* the credit of any miraculous story, relate to the evidence, so there are others of great moment, that relate to the miracles themselves, of which the following ought to be carefully retained,—viz. that it is not necessary to admit as a miracle what can be resolved into a false perception,—not to bring into the comparison *tentative* miracles, that is, when, out of a great number of trials, some only succeed,—nor such accounts in which, allowing the phenomenon to be real, the fact true, it still remains doubtful whether a miracle was wrought,—also, such in which the variation of a small circumstance may have transformed some extraordinary appearance, or some critical coincidence of events, into a mi-

* Between these two rejected topics, Mr. Paley hath inserted some observations on *particularity* in names, dates, places, circumstances, and the order of events preceding or following the transaction, as, in a certain way, and to a certain degree, a mark of historical truth.

racle,—stories; in a word, which may be resolved into exaggeration. These positions being considered, the archdeacon goes on to examine, in the second chapter, the instances with which Mr. Hume chose to confront the miracles of the New Testament, as the strongest which the history of the world could supply; and with this examination terminates the *first part* of the work.

The *second part* of this work having for its object the *Auxiliary Evidences of Christianity*, archdeacon Paley enters upon them under the heads of *Prophecy*—*the Morality of the Gospel*—*the Candour of the Writers of the New Testament*—*the Identity of Christ's Character*, and its *Originality*—*the Conformity of Facts mentioned or referred to in Scripture*, with the *State of Things in those Times*, as represented by foreign and independent accounts—*Undesigned Coincidences*—*the History of the Resurrection*—and *the Propagation of Christianity*. To the last of these, *Reflections* are added, and *Observations on the Success of Mahometanism*, that being the only event in history which admits of comparison with the propagation of Christianity, yet stands not in the way of this important conclusion, that the propagation of Christianity is an *unique* in the history of the species.—A Jewish peasant overthrew the religion of the world!

The *third part* of this View, being devoted to a brief *Consideration of some popular Objections*, begins with the *Discrepancies between the several Gospels*. This chapter contains many pointed and judicious remarks: but as they descend into but few of the instances adduced by Mr. Evanston, we hope to see, in a future edition, this part of the work considerably enlarged. For, though many of that gentleman's difficulties may be easily removed, there are others that require to be seriously weighed. Next after the *Discrepancies*, the *Erroneous Opinions imputed to the Apostles* are considered;—*the Connection of Christianity with the Jewish History* is happily traced;—a satisfactory account is given why *the Christian Miracles are not recited, or appealed to, by early Christian Writers themselves, so fully or frequently as might at first view be expected*;—the objection taken from the *Want of Universality in the Knowledge and Reception of Christianity*, and of greater *Clearness in the Evidence*, is judiciously silenced;—*the supposed Effects of Christianity* are examined, its real influence is ascertained;—and a *retrospective Conclusion* terminates the work, which, considered as intended for general use, must be allowed to possess a high degree of merit.

In giving a specimen it is not easy to make any adequate extract; but the annexed citation from the last chapter will, we think, give an idea of the manner of the author.

' In religion, as in every other subject of human reasoning, much depends upon the order in which we dispose our enquiries. A man who takes up a system of divinity with a previous opinion that either every part must be true, or the whole false, approaches the discussion with great disadvantage. No other system, which is founded upon moral evidence, would bear to be treated in the same manner. Nevertheless, in a certain degree, we are all introduced to our religious studies under this prejudication; and it cannot be avoided. The weakness of the human judgment in the early part of youth, yet its extreme susceptibility of impression, renders it necessary to furnish it with some opinions, and with some principles, or other. Or indeed, without much express care, or much endeavour for this purpose, the tendency of the mind of man, to assimilate itself to the habits of thinking and speaking which prevail around him, produces the same effect. That indifferency and suspense, that waiting and equilibrium of the judgement, which some require in religious matters, and which some would wish to be aimed at in the conduct of education, are impossible to be preserved. They are not given to the condition of human life.

' It is a consequence of this situation that the doctrines of religion come to us before the proofs; and come to us with that mixture of explications and inferences from which no public creed is, or can be free. And the effect which too frequently follows, from Christianity being presented to the understanding in this form, is, that when any articles, which appear as parts of it, contradict the apprehension of the persons to whom it is proposed, men of rash and confident tempers hastily and indiscriminately reject the whole. But is this to do justice, either to themselves, or to the religion? The rational way of treating a subject of such acknowledged importance is to attend, in the first place, to the general and substantial truth of its principles, and to that alone. When we once feel a foundation, when we once perceive a ground of credibility in its history, we shall proceed with safety to enquire into the interpretation of its records, and into the doctrines which have been deduced from them. Nor will it either endanger our faith, or diminish or alter our motives for obedience, if we should discover that these conclusions are formed with different degrees of probability, and possess different degrees of importance.

' This conduct of the understanding, dictated by every rule of right reasoning, will uphold personal Christianity, even in those countries in which it is established under forms the most liable to difficulty and objection. It will also have the further effect of guarding us against the prejudices which are wont to arise in our minds to the disadvantage of religion, from observing the numerous controversies which are carried on amongst its professors, and likewise of inducing a spirit of lenity and moderation in our judgement, as well as in our treatment, of those, who stand, in such controver-

sies, upon sides opposite to ours. What is clear in Christianity we shall find to be sufficient, and to be infinitely valuable; what is dubious, unnecessary to be decided, or of very subordinate importance; and what is most obscure, will teach us to bear with the opinions which others may have formed upon the same subject. We shall say to those, who the most widely dissent from us, what Augustine said to the worst heretics of his age; "*Illi in vos sæviant, qui nesciunt, cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores — qui nesciunt, cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis—qui nesciunt, quibus suspiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacunque parte possit intelligi Deus.*"

‘A judgement moreover, which is once pretty well satisfied of the general truth of the religion, will not only thus discriminate in its doctrines, but will possess sufficient strength to overcome the reluctance of the imagination to admit articles of faith which are attended with difficulty of apprehension, if such articles of faith appear to be truly parts of the revelation. It was to be expected beforehand, that what related to the œconomy, and to the persons, of the invisible world, which revelation professes to do, and which, if true, it actually does, should contain some points remote from our analogies, and from the comprehension of a mind which hath acquired all its ideas from sense and from experience.

‘It hath been my care, in the preceding work, to preserve the separation between evidences and doctrines as inviolable as I could; to remove from the primary question all considerations which have been unnecessarily joined with it; and to offer a defence of Christianity, which every Christian might read, without seeing the tenets in which he had been brought up attacked or decried; and it always afforded a satisfaction to my mind to observe that this was practicable; that few or none of our many controversies with one another affect or relate to the proofs of our religion; that the rent never descends to the foundation.

‘The truth of Christianity depends upon its leading facts, and upon them alone. Now of these we have evidence which ought to satisfy us, at least until it appear that mankind have ever been deceived by the same. We have some uncontested and incontestable points, to which the history of the human species hath nothing similar to offer. A Jewish peasant changed the religion of the world, and that without force, without power, without support; without one natural source or circumstance of attraction, influence, or success. Such a thing hath not happened in any other instance. The companions of this person, after he himself had been put to death for his attempt, asserted his supernatural character, founded upon his supernatural operations; and in testimony of the truth of their assertions, *i. e.* in consequence of their own belief of that truth, and, in order to communicate the knowledge of it to others, voluntarily entered upon lives of toil and hardship, and, with a full experience of their

their danger, committed themselves to the last extremities of persecution. This hath not a parallel. More particularly, a very few days after this person had been publicly executed, and in the very city in which he was buried, these his companions declared with one voice that his body was restored to life; that they had seen him, handled him, eat with him, conversed with him; and, in pursuance of their persuasion of the truth of what they told, preached his religion, with this strange fact as the foundation of it, in the face of those who had killed him, who were armed with the power of the country, and necessarily and naturally disposed to treat his followers as they had treated himself; and having done this upon the spot where the event took place, carried the intelligence of it abroad, in despite of difficulties and opposition, and where the nature of their errand gave them nothing to expect but derision, insult, and outrage. This is without example. These three facts, I think, are certain, and would have been nearly so, if the Gospels had never been written. The Christian story, as to these points, hath never varied. No other hath been set up against it. Every letter, every discourse, every controversy, amongst the followers of the religion; every book written by them, from the age of its commencement to the present time, in every part of the world to which it hath been professed, and with every sect into which it hath been divided, (and we have letters and discourses written by contemporaries, by witnesses of the transaction, by persons themselves bearing a share in it, and other writings following that age in regular succession) *concur* in representing these facts in this manner. A religion, which now possesses the greatest part of the civilised world, unquestionably sprang up at Jerusalem at this time. Some account must be given of its origin, some cause assigned for its rise. All the accounts of this origin, all the explications of this cause, whether taken from the writings of the early followers of the religion, in which, and in which perhaps alone, it could be expected that they should be distinctly unfolded, or from occasional notices in other writings of that or the adjoining age, either expressly alledge the facts above stated as the means by which the religion was set up, or advert to its commencement in a manner which agrees with the supposition of these facts being true, which renders them probable according to the then state of the world, and which testifies their operation and effects.

‘ These propositions alone lay a foundation for our faith, for they prove the existence of a transaction, which cannot even in its most *general* parts be accounted for upon any reasonable supposition, except that of the truth of the mission. But the particulars, the *detail* of the miracles or miraculous pretences (for such there necessarily must have been) upon which this unexampled transaction rested, and for which these men acted and suffered as they did act and suffer, it is undoubtedly of great importance to us to know. We have this detail from the fountain head, from the persons themselves; in accounts written by eye-witnesses of the scene, by contemporaries and

companions of those who were so; not in one book, but four, each containing enough for the verification of the religion, all agreeing in the fundamental parts of the history. We have the authenticity of these books established by more and stronger proofs than belong to almost any other ancient book whatever, and by proofs which widely distinguish them from any others claiming a similar authority to theirs. If there were any good reason for doubt concerning the names to which these books are ascribed, (which there is not, for they were never ascribed to any other, and we have evidence, not long after their publication, of their bearing the names which they now bear) their antiquity, of which there is no question, their reputation and authority amongst the early disciples of the religion, of which there is as little, form a valid proof that they must, in the main at least, have agreed with what the first teachers of the religion delivered. Vol. iii. p. 220.

An Essay on the Malignant Pestilential Fever introduced into the West Indian Islands from Boullam, on the Coast of Guinea, as it appeared in 1793 and 1794. By C. Chisholm, M. D. and Surgeon to his Majesty's Ordnance in Grenada. 8vo. 5s. Boards. Dilly. 1795.

THE extraordinary mortality which marked the epidemic described in this publication, and the total inefficacy of the remedies usually employed in the like circumstances, are alleged as the author's inducements for the publication before us. His motives are also explained in the preface, where he says—

‘ That the malignant pestilential fever is no rare occurrence in cold climates, has been too fatally experienced. It is not so, however, in hot climates, if we may judge from the writings of medical practitioners; for although symptoms of malignancy have appeared in the yellow fever of the country, in its advanced stage, seldom have those of pestilence shewn themselves; and never has contagion till now, rendered the usual precautions observed in Europe against the introduction of the plague, necessary.

‘ Perhaps the following consideration may constitute a further apology for the author's intruding himself on the public: it is evident that the most respectable writers on the malignant fever have found infinite difficulty in ascertaining an appropriate mode of cure: what but this are we to infer from the following passages: “I have observed before, that a delirium would arise from two opposite errors; one from large and repeated bleedings; and the other from wine and the cordial medicines being taken too early. It appears therefore how nice the principles are that regard the cure: thus, neither a hot nor a cool regimen will answer with every patient, nor in every state of the disease.”—“Yet were putrefaction the

only change made in the body by contagion, it might be easy to cure such fevers by the use of acids only, or other antiseptics. But as the disease, when once formed, is not to be removed by such means alone, it would therefore seem as if some parts of the brain, or nervous system, were early inflamed, and the fever kept up by that inflammation; as if to this circumstance most of the symptoms were owing; and, as if in the advanced state, a cure could not be obtained until the obstructing matter was resolved by suppuration or putrefaction *." Nothing can more remarkably betray the uncertainty of this eminent physician with respect to the true nature of pestilential fevers; nor can any thing more directly point out the desideratum in their cure. The author has not the presumption to imagine that the happy medium, so much wanted, has been discovered by him; but he has reason to believe, that the candid and unprejudiced practitioner may find in the following little Essay, some observations which may throw light on this very obscure subject. it may at least excite the observing and ingenious to attend more to the peculiar nature of pestilential inflammation; to the exhalation of serous fluid in the cavities of the brain, and the consequent compression of that organ; and to the means which resolve the former without inducing a dangerous state of debility, and promote the absorption of the latter in fevers of a subsequent nature. No doubt the means here recommended will appear bold, and perhaps empirical to an European physician; but let prejudice be set aside, and let facts only be attended to, and sure he is, a candid practitioner will find sufficient encouragement to adopt them. What has been advanced, powerfully militates against theory; but how seldom are the dogmata of theorists found free of fallacy in practice!

‘ Upon the whole: all the author aims at, is to relate in a plain and unadorned style, the result of his own experience in one of the most dangerous and insidious diseases the human frame is subject to, with the sole view of contributing his mite to the public good: if he succeeds, he will receive the highest possible gratification. With the celebrated Dr. Lind, he may say, “these observations claim the more attention, as not being only a few remarks made in private, or on any one particular fever, which might prove an exception to a general established principle in practice: they are the result of an attention to some hundred patients, whose cases are still preserved.”

P. viii.

In the introduction, an able though somewhat flowery description is given of Grenada; and those circumstances which particularly relate to the subject in question are very properly dwelt on, particularly the meteorological events, which are exhibited in a series of tables. From the different descriptions of people affected with this disease, Dr. Chisholm has formed

* * Sir John Pringle's Observations on the Diseases of the Army.

a kind of scale shewing the gradation it observed with regard to each. The persons most immediately subject to it were—

‘ 1. Sailors, more especially the robust and young; those least accustomed to the climate; and those most given to drinking new rum.

‘ 2. Soldiers, more especially recruits lately from Europe; and the most intemperate.

‘ 3. White males in general lately arrived; more especially young men from Europe.

‘ 4. All other white males, more especially the lower classes; and of them the most intemperate; those debilitated by recent sickness.

‘ 5. White females, more especially those connected with the shipping; and those lately from Europe.

‘ 6. People of colour, from Mustees to Cabres.

‘ 7. Negro-men, more especially sailors and porters.

‘ 8. Negro-women, more especially house-wenches.

‘ 9. Children, more especially those of colour.’ p. 100.

The author describes the symptoms and progress of the disease in the following words:—

‘ The patient, without any previous complaint, suddenly becomes giddy; he loses his eye-sight; every thing seems to move round him with inconceivable velocity; he falls down almost insensible, and in that state remains half an hour or upwards. During this paroxysm the body feels cold, and is overspread with cold sweat, which issues from every pore in astonishing abundance. On his recovery, the cold goes off, and is instantly succeeded by intense heat, and quick, small, hard pulse; the head aches dreadfully, particularly the forehead and sinciput, which is generally accompanied with pain in the right side, and at the præcordia. The last, however, has never been acute, and may rather be called oppression than pain. The eyes are much inflamed, watery, protruded, and wildly rolling; the face much flushed; much heat is felt at the pit of the stomach; and that organ seems to be considerably affected by the nausea and frequent retching and vomiting, which then come on. The patient soon after complains of intolerable pain in the small of his back, and in the calves of his legs; but the last appears to be the most violent. During twelve, eighteen, twenty-four, or thirty-six hours, these symptoms continue increasing, except the quickness and hardness of the pulse, which do not change materially during that time, and are then succeeded by general coldness, cold sweat, a greater or less degree of coma and delirium, or a state very much resembling intoxication. Life in this state is lengthened out to sixty or ninety hours from the first attack. A short interval of reason then takes place; the patient considers himself better, and is for a moment

moment flattered with the prospect of recovery ; but a fit as sudden and unexpected as the first comes on, during which, he foams at the mouth, rolls his eyes dreadfully, and throws out and pulls back his extremities in violent and quick alternate succession. In general the patient expires in this fit ; but some have recovered from it, and continued rational for a few hours longer, when a second fit has carried them off. This has been the general progress of the disease in its worst form ; and indeed there have not been many deviations from it ; the principal of these were, the general symptoms coming on, without any preceding convulsion. The patient has been, in some instances, comatose from the very commencement of the disease ; others have had the disease ushered in by a frequent succession of short convulsive fits, and it has afterwards been marked with constant delirium and cold clammy sweat, without any intervening heat of surface, &c. The disease too, in a few cases, has seized the patient in the manner most other fevers come on ; that is, with shivering and a sense of cold. The most constant symptoms, and consequently those which distinguished the disease, were the uncommon suddenness of its attack ; the remarkably acute pain in the loins and calves of the legs : the watery, inflamed, and rolling eye ; the flushing of the face ; the tendency to coma from the very onset ; the peculiarity of the delirium attending ; and the pain confined to the forehead seldom extending to the temples, or even to the scaput. However mild cases might be in other respects, these were always present. In no disease I have ever met with, is the physician more liable to be deceived ; for often when every symptom, indicating danger, has been apparently removed ; when the skin has become cool, the pulse seemingly natural, and the stomach so retentive as to receive a large quantity of bark, convulsions suddenly seize the patient, and soon deprive him of life ; or delirium and cold clammy sweats supersede the favourable appearances, and forerun dissolution.' P. 105.

On opening the bodies of those who died of this disease, a preternatural quantity of a serous fluid was usually found in the ventricles of the brain ; and this circumstance, it seems, led the author to the use of calomel joined with antimony, in repeated doses, so as to affect the salivary glands. In this departure from the customary line of practice in such cases, Dr. Chisholm appears to have been fully warranted by the event ; and the cases he has related, as well as his reasoning on the subject, we think well worth attention.

An Historical Account of the British Regiments employed since the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. in the Formation and Defence of the Dutch Republic, particularly of the Scotch Brigade. 8vo. 3s. Kay. 1795.

‘**M**UCH ado about nothing!’ A confused and inaccurate account, full of extraneous matter, and national vanity. If we understand the author, p. vii. he ascribes the victories of Henry IV. of France to his three hundred and fifty Scotch guards; and yet, p. viii. this Scotch guard consisted of *French*! This national intoxication, peculiar to some of our northern neighbours, pervades the work, which is replete with great exploits performed by a few Scotch auxiliaries quite unknown in the histories of the countries where they fought. The Scotch guard, p. viii. ‘was certainly the oldest body of troops in Europe;’ yet it was only established about 1440, while standing troops, ‘gendarmerie,’ were known in the reign of Charles V. of France, 1360. Were our author’s tale true, it is certainly much for the honour of Scotland that it set the first example of slavery to Europe! The real Scotch guard is only known in the *Chronique Scandaleuse*, and other histories of Louis XI. by the robberies and murders committed by the soldiers. The Swifs in the service of France are known to all historians, and in a different manner.

The Scotch Brigade was so called by the Dutch and other foreigners, and not, as supposed, p. 2, because they were the only standing troops of Scotland. Authorities are not adduced: and, p. 12, we are learnedly told that Schottenburg implies the Hill of the Scots; and so we say, ‘to pay Scot and lot.’ Schot is a tax, a reckoning. If the noblesse and commons of France, p. 26, ‘were as entirely different from each other, as any two nations can be,’ we lament the folly and injustice which could thus detach man from man.

We shall pass many pages of sterile narrative, in which the Scotch Brigade appears with great glory, like the fly upon the wheel,—and present our readers with more recent details.

‘At the commencement of the war between Great Britain and France in 1755, the Scotch Brigade naturally expected to be recalled, according to the treaty subsisting for that purpose. In wars wherein the Dutch republic was engaged as well as Great Britain, there could be no question of calling home the Scotch Brigade, while other troops were sent to the Netherlands or to Germany, and so burdening this country with an expence which an ally was willing to bear. There was still greater reason for not recalling them when there was no war, as by their remaining in the Dutch territories, the nation reaped the double advantage of saving in time of peace the expence of main-

maintaining a body of veteran troops of which it could command the service in war. But when great bodies of troops were brought over from Germany for the defence of this island, why six old battalions, of which both officers and private men were entirely British, and which were at all times accustomed to the same duty and discipline as if in presence of an enemy, should have been left in a foreign country, while many new regiments were raised at home, seems extremely unaccountable. It was believed in the Brigade, that the princess dowager of Orange had requested of the late king, her father, to leave those regiments in Holland, as a sure support to the interest of her infant son, against the French faction, which then began to gain ground.

Some imagined that their not being called home was owing to their being entirely Scotch, and thence not in favour with the then administration of military affairs, although they had a greater share than any other troops of this kingdom, except the 5th and 6th regiments, in fixing the Protestant branch of the royal family on the throne, and had been employed more than a hundred years before that period in rescuing a Protestant country from the tyranny of the inquisition.

In 1757, soon after suffering the mortification of being left useless in Holland, while their own country was engaged in war, those regiments underwent that of being obliged to recruit foreigners, because of the great levies then making in Scotland. But in the same year that their recruiting at home was suspended; it was thought necessary to secure the allegiance of those regiments to the crown of Great Britain by an act of parliament, obliging the officers to take the same oaths with those of regiments serving in the British dominions; which had not before been required, except of the private soldiers, who had always taken the same oaths with all other British troops; but from that time the private soldiers were subjected to no oath whatever, the states general requiring none except of the officers, upon whom alone the actions of the troops depended, for private soldiers were not punishable even for rebellion, if acting by the command of their officers.

In the year 1764, orders for recruiting the Brigade in Scotland were again issued, but soon after withdrawn, upon representations being made, by a description of men who could not see the advantage of having a considerable body of veteran troops kept up in time of peace, without any expence to the nation, or perhaps thought there was no use for any troops whatever in time of peace, and that the fate of Great Britain might be trusted to an army raised after a war breaks out, against one composed of regular battalions trained many years.

In the year 1776, a message was delivered in the king's name to the states general, by sir Joseph Yorke, then ambassador at the Hague, signifying his majesty's desire that the Scotch Brigade should
be

be sent home. Although the private men were then in general foreigners by birth, very few of them were natives of the United Netherlands, and being under the absolute command of British officers, were still entirely at his majesty's disposal. Duke Lewis of Brunswick, then commander in chief of the Dutch land forces, urged the necessity of a body of German troops being taken into the pay of the republic in place of the British regiments. To this the states being extremely averse, they signified to sir Joseph Yorke their wishes, that the Brigade might remain with them; so that, to the great mortification, and as it afterwards proved, the great loss of the officers concerned, the power of recalling it was not exercised.

' From that time, the party hostile to this country and to the house of Orange, continued to gain ground, until they prevailed so far as to bring on an open rupture betwixt Great Britain and the republic. Sir Joseph Yorke being at Antwerp, in his way to England from the Hague, in January 1781, a field officer of the Scotch Brigade went to ask directions of him with regard to the conduct which the Brigade should hold in such an embarrassing situation. He answered, that they must remain quiet where they were, until they should receive instructions from home.

' A great alarm being occasioned in Holland, by the presence of six battalions under the absolute command of British officers, who might think their temporary allegiance to the states annulled by the rupture with Great Britain, and superseded by the allegiance which they owed at all times, and had likewise sworn to their own sovereign, the prince of Orange found it necessary to send those battalions out of the seven provinces, to places garrisoned by troops of the republic, situated along the river Meuse, which were Grave, Venlo, Maastricht, and Namur.

' The field officers, thinking, that although there might have been reasons five years before, which induced his majesty to desist from his purpose of recalling them, yet there could be none for leaving them in a country at war with Great Britain, sent home repeated requests to be recalled; but it was given them to understand, that there were still hopes of matters being made up, and that government did not chuse to widen the breach by recalling them.

' In the year 1782, it was resolved by the states general, that an edict should be issued, obliging the officers of the Scotch Brigade to declare that they acknowledged no power but them as their lawful sovereign; that his majesty's royal colours, which had come off triumphant from so many battles and sieges, should be taken from them; that the British uniform, sash and gorget, beat of drum, and word of command, should be abolished, and the regiments totally changed into Dutch troops.

' The only rule of conduct which the officers of the Scotch Brigade could then follow, was that of officers who had in the execution of their duty, and without any fault or error that could be imputed

to them, fallen into the hands of the enemy: if such officers are not detained prisoners, it is their undoubted duty to return home. This the officers of the Scotch Brigade now in Great Britain did, after rejecting the offer made to them by the states general, of being continued in the certainty of constant advancement during life, provided they would consent to serve under the colours of their high mightinesses, and become their troops. But whatever the means may have been by which a British regiment has fallen into the enemy's hands, it cannot be in the power of that enemy to extinguish or abolish it. The regiment still exists in the persons of the remaining officers. The three regiments of the Scotch Brigade were permanent on the peace establishment of Scotland, after the great reduction subsequent to the peace of Ryswick, at which time all the land forces on the establishment of England amounted only to seven thousand men. Consequently, at the time those regiments were ordered abroad by king William to the defence of the Dutch republic, the case was the same as if three of the oldest regiments of the British line were now ordered abroad, and that the ally to whose assistance they were sent should save government the expence of paying them. Whatever conditions it might please the king to settle with his ally concerning those regiments, such conditions could not degrade the regiments in any degree from their former state. His majesty would surely not permit that they should lose any of their former rights or pretensions, by having served under conditions to which he himself thought proper to subject them.' p. 84.

Our author labours hard to evince the justice of re-establishing the Scotch Brigade, as regiments of the British army: but we doubt if the house of Hanover will now favour champions of the Protestant interest, accustomed to serve a republic. Had the Scotch Brigade served under the despots of France or Spain in promoting the catholic faith and mental and political slavery, it might with certainty claim the highest honours, during an age of experiments tried twice in the last century, and now tried once more.

This tract is closed with an enormous note, p. 95—102, on the valiant actions of the Caledonians against the Romans! It is truly surprising, that, while other nations are become modest, manly, and philosophical, such puerile vaunts should appear among any enlightened people. A history of the conquests of Scotland by Edward I. and by Cromwell would have been as much to the purpose. National vanity may strictly be termed personal, and is alike disgusting to an ingenuous mind. Both are self-injurious, as they excite enmity and contempt.

A Liturgy,

A Liturgy, containing Forms of Devotion for each Sunday in the Month, with an Office for Baptism, &c. 12mo. 2s. Boards. Baldwin. 1794.

THE variety of sects and denominations into which Christians are at present divided, and the freedom with which different opinions are discussed and maintained, and different forms adopted or rejected, are an undoubted testimony of that happy state of religious liberty which the people of this country at the present period possess.—The pastor of the *Society belonging to the New Dissenting Chapel in Stourbridge* submits, in a prefatory address, to his ‘Christian friends and fellow worshippers’ a liturgy for their consideration, to be adopted, if approved, in public worship. He trusts, from their previous conduct, that they will not object to any alteration in the modes to which they have been accustomed, merely on account of its being an innovation; and proceeds to mention the reasons which led him to conclude that some parts of religious services should consist of written forms. His three first arguments, which appear to us almost unanswerable, we subjoin—

‘1. It appears to me very desirable, that the whole congregation should take a more active part in the public worship of God. We judge it proper that they should all join in singing the praises of their Maker; why then should they not join in reciting his praises by suitable responses, and openly declare by their voice, that they join in the prayers which are offered up?—I think responses, if properly conducted, would tend to engage the attention, to excite the affections, and to animate the devotion of all.

‘2. Another advantage of written forms is this; that persons would know before they come to the house of God, in what particular part of devotion they were going to engage, and might prepare their minds accordingly. The devout servants of God, on the morning of the Lord’s day, convinced of the importance of public worship, endeavour to prepare their minds for it. They may indeed possess that general devotional frame which will enable them to engage in all the acts of religious worship with edification; yet, as one may feel himself more disposed to begin with confession, and another with thanksgiving, it would surely be some advantage to know the train of devotional thoughts, to which their minds are to be directed.

‘3. In our present mode of conducting religious worship, too much depends upon the minister. On this account it is to be feared that some are too apt to look upon prayer as the business of the minister only; and not to consider it, at least not so much as they ought, as a duty in which they themselves are equally concerned. But waving this consideration, is it right that the devotion of a whole

congregation should depend so much upon one person? allowing him to be ever so well qualified for discharging this part of public worship, is he not liable to bodily disorders, or a depression of spirits? and can he, in such a state, address the Deity with that sacred composure of mind, that fervour of devotion, and that elevation of soul, which will tend to excite the devout affections of his fellow worshippers? Besides a concern to express himself in a proper manner, and to preserve some degree of variety, tends greatly to damp the spirit of devotion in his own breast; and, sometimes, renders his performances, at least with respect to himself, cold and formal.
p. iv.

The fourth reason alleged — that their present mode of worship is too refined for the young and ignorant, and that more sensible impressions are necessary to fix their thoughts and engage their attention,—if taken in its utmost latitude, militates against the spiritual nature of Christianity, and was, agreeably to the tenets of all reformed churches, one of the first inlets to those corruptions by which its lustre was for a time obscured, and its pure nature contaminated and debased.—‘Forms of devotion (it is also added) would give a solemnity and dignity to our (the Dissenters’) public worship, and a stability to our religious societies; in which I think they are now deficient.—Something is wanting to render our public worship and our religious societies more certain and stable, and I think forms of prayer would have this effect.’ (p. v.)—This reasoning is to us unobjectionable; and indeed it appears extremely forcible and solid, and well deserving the attention of those to whom it is addressed; yet we fear it will be less acceptable to the Dissenters, of whom we wish to speak with respect, but whose great error seems always to have been a want of stability, and a fondness for change, both as to doctrines and worship.—Neither will his dissenting brethren altogether approve of the argument in favour of the use of liturgies from their being of great antiquity:—yet, upon the whole, we accord with this writer, in thinking that they possess infinite advantages over what is commonly called free or extempore prayer, which affords but too much room for the vanity of composition to insinuate itself, and supercede that deep humility and singleness of heart which is the essence of true devotion, and should ever characterise our addresses to a superior being. A service, likewise, in which the people unite, is more emphatically social worship.

The author has informed us, in an advertisement, that in drawing up this liturgy he wished to render it unexceptionable to Christians of all persuasions. In this laudable endeavour we do not think that he has been, or indeed could be, successful.

ful.—Whatever might have been the ideas of Socinus respecting the propriety of addressing prayer to Jesus Christ, there are but few of the modern unitarians who would enter into the nice distinction stated by this writer—‘Whether prayer should be addressed to Christ as mediator, is I think difficult to determine; but as we have no divine precept for it, I think it right in our public worship to pray to the Father only, in the name of Christ. But as praise is certainly ascribed to him in the scriptures, and as love to Christ is made an essential branch of his religion, I cannot but think we are justified in addressing him with hymns of praise and thanksgiving. If there be danger on the one hand of advancing too far towards polytheism, perhaps there is danger on the other, of being too philosophical and fastidious.’ (P. xi.)—In this sentiment Mr. Carpenter will again find more to unite with him among Churchmen, than among his own brethren, the Dissenters.—Other parts of this liturgy might also be pointed out as inimical to that *union of sentiment*, which, when uniting in common homage to a common parent and benefactor, our author thinks so desirable.—In reply to what is advanced by Mr. Carpenter respecting the stress which ought to be laid on the observance of Christmas-day, Good Friday, &c. he may depend upon it the Dissenters will be ready with their favourite texts.—In fact we much fear, that, in the present divided state of the Christian world, no one project of union, no scheme of comprehension can be devised, that would please all, or would take in even the majority of Dissenters; and the best plan for the maintenance of Christianity is undoubtedly a respectable establishment, in which *venality* and *nepotism* shall have as little influence as possible, and in which the claims of learning and virtue shall be carefully attended to in the distribution of preferments; and, added to this, a liberal toleration and charitable and generous conduct to all who conscientiously dissent.

In order, in some degree, to unite variety with the advantages of a stated service, our author has given a distinct form for every ‘Lord’s day in the month.’ Prayer is a very difficult species of composition: in the *general* tendency of the present compilation, however, a liberal temper and a rational piety is manifested. After ‘a petition for all mankind,’ a more particular intercession for the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, and all the British plantations, entreating ‘to be preserved from the hands of our enemies, and that we may be that happy people whose God is the Lord,’—according to the impartial nature and design of the gospel, is scarcely necessary, and seems to breathe a judaizing spirit.

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The expression of 'Lord God of Sabaoth' is not quite adapted to the comprehension of an unlearned audience. Also a metaphysical prayer, founded on the divine attributes, is obnoxious to the same objection.

In the meditation to be used before the commencement of public worship, our author again judaizes — 'How awful, O my soul, is this place. This is none other than the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven, &c.' — 'The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father,' — 'God is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit, &c.'

In an 'Office for the Administration of Infant Baptism,' our author founds his hypothesis, of the propriety of administering this ordinance to infants, on the text — 'Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit,' — subjoining the usual arguments from the analogy of circumcision — the amiable tenderness displayed by Jesus Christ to the children whom he took in his arms, and from whose simplicity and innocence he took occasion to reprove and to instruct his ambitious disciples and the turbulent multitude. 'An Office for the Administration of the Lord's Supper' follows that for baptism, in which Mr. Carpenter appears to treat that service in a manner somewhat too mystical and occult. The abuse of this institution, as severely reprov'd by the apostle, is generally understood to have been the converting of it into a licentious festival, and indulging in brutal excesses. Why then all these scruples and this preparation? A Christian, if not merely a nominal Christian, should at all times endeavour to keep his heart from malice and uncharitableness, and his head from guile.

We trust in the candor of Mr. Carpenter for an excuse for these hints. We certainly approve the general tendency of his design, and are of opinion that the worship of most dissenting congregations would be improved by the adoption of a liturgy. Perhaps as churchmen we may have some bias on our minds; yet we can safely aver it is unmixed with envy or party spirit. Though we may not adopt their tenets, we love as Christians our dissenting brethren, and would wish to contribute to the promotion of a *religious* spirit in general, independent of all doctrinal controversy or dispute.

The Royal Captives: a Fragment of Secret History. Copied from an Old Manuscript. By Ann Yearley. Vols. III. and IV. 12mo. 6s. Robinsons. 1795.

IN our account of the preceding volumes of this novel (Crit. Rev. Feb. 1795,) we gave a brief sketch of the fable, as far as it then extended, and expressed a hope that the author-
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els would adopt some hints for the improvement of her style, and speedily gratify public curiosity by a continuation of her plan. The present volumes, we are happy to find, are no less a proof of her willingness to profit by advice, than of her ability to complete the undertaking in a manner gratifying to the expectation raised. Through the various perils of the eventful lives of her characters, the virtuous part of whom are at length rewarded, she exhibits no inconsiderable skill in exciting the furious as well as the tender passions; and the interest of the story rises in regular gradations. Having said so much in a former review, we shall content ourselves with one or two testimonies to the talents of Mrs. Yearsley in a species of narrative in which she seems ambitious to excel. The interview between Henry and his father, whom he very unexpectedly finds in the castle of St. M. seems to be of this kind. Henry had learned that a *lady* was confined in one of the dungeons, and from certain circumstances he had reason to think she was his mother. Filial affection is a leading *trait* in his character, and surmounted every consideration of personal safety, especially as at this time he conceived himself to be deserted by Emily, who had made her escape by the assistance of the cordelier. Having prevailed on a female domestic to lend him a key which led to the subterraneous part of the castle, he thus pursues the adventure—

‘ As I advanced along this solemn gallery, towards the light at the end of it, the floor on which I stepped shook beneath my feet, groans of despair arose from the very centre, and my amazement was not to be expressed. Struggling with my terrors, I wildly rushed on, and entered into a kind of hall, where a lamp was burning on a black marble; here I expected to behold a fellow creature of some sort! Saw nothing possessed of life. The hall was of oblong direction, in the floor of which were fixed several hinges and iron rings, by which appearances, I supposed, there were habitations beneath, suited to the torments of tyranny.

“ Who comes?” (said some person in a weak voice.)

“ *Famminée.*” (said I, attempting to deceive in a feigned voice.)

‘ I heard no more—waited—looked around—no person came, nor could I exactly distinguish in which direction the voice had reached me.

“ Come forth,” said I, loudly—

‘ Such a heavy peal of chains saluted me, without the least sound of human language or complaint, that I was awfully convinced none could come forth who were imprisoned here!

‘ Impatient at delay, and fearing dawn would surprise me, I seized the lamp, set it down near the iron rings on the floor, and thrusting the great key into one of the smallest, put my knee on the board,

board, and, with my whole force collected, wrenched out the ring and drew up a narrow door.

‘ Through this wonderful and solemn hour, I retained self-collection—I put my face down; all was dark—I could hear no noise—not a sigh, or groan,—all was impenetrable horror!

‘ Discouraged and disappointed, I removed the lamp; and was rising from the floor, when I observed some broken steps, slightly fastened with cords, so as to be taken away at pleasure, and down I went with the lamp in my hand.

‘ This dismal descent was of much greater length than I could have supposed it. I at last alighted, not on pavement, or polished marble, but on human skeletons, whose bones were white as ivory with age!

“ Merciful Creator! What could be thy purpose in making man? Is it thus thy image can be so frequently broken and defaced?”

‘ Like a statue I stood, as if at a loss to know why I came there; my understanding was bewildered—I could not comprehend the tenor of my own actions—what was I pursuing? When was I to return? What could I be capable of in so dark a dungeon?—

‘ Drawing a deep sigh, that relieved my heart, I ventured to turn my head a little on one side, when, to heighten my distress, I saw a figure leaning on a coffin!

‘ I may not be believed; but I solemnly declare, that I could not distinguish whether it was man or woman. The robe or cloak was black; the face appeared to be entirely black—no part appeared mortal, except two white hands, on one of which rested the head of the figure, as the elbow lay on the lid of the coffin.

“ Whatever thou art, speak!” (said I, in a voice scarcely intelligible.)

“ Who are you that come so abruptly to disturb my few remaining hours? I am a man, and ask no consolation.”

“ That voice!—I have heard that voice!”—

“ Be not discomposed; you will soon cease to hear it.—”

“ If you can see, sir, look up; for the sake of heaven raise yourself! Look fully at me!”—

‘ I drew the lamp aside; and, to my astonishment, saw the face of the captive was concealed under a black mask!

‘ At my request he altered his attitude—looked at me; arose from his seat to observe my features minutely—and starting, exclaimed,

“ Forbid it! O forbid it pitying angels!”—

“ Tremendous horror! Can it be—it is—it is my long-lost father!”—

‘ I fell on his sacred bosom!—Miserable as we were, we felt all the pleasure affection could afford a son and father!—

‘ A long silence ensued; we were drowned in tears; lost to the
C. R. N. AR. (XIV.) *August, 1795.* E e poor

poor impertinence of words—Whence my father came, or how he was buried in this prison, was of no import. I knew his birth; I knew the cause for which he was doomed to suffer loss of freedom, and had a thousand questions been necessary, this was no season for cold recital.

‘It was consolatory; nay, it was felicity, to meet after so many tedious years. After struggling singly with inexorable fate, we could only articulate a few incoherent enquiries: half an expression, at such a moment as this, forcibly makes way to the heart.

‘Lamentation and condolence were ineffectual here; we did not indulge either. I took a view of this cell, but could find no window or aperture whereby my father might draw air. He pointed to an opening very small and grated, through which the air came from the sea.

“How long have you been here, my dear sir?”

“Five years, I think, or more;—but I was not kept up strictly till within a year past; nor was I condemned to this dreadful dungeon till within a few days past, when a rumour of rebellion, kindled, and conducted by my brother the duke of B****, caused me to be plunged from the light of day.”

“Where is my dearest mother, sir?”

‘My father sighed.

“Does she exist?”

“Do not ask me, Henry!”

“If, sir, it would not give you pain, I—”

“Fear the worst, my son.—You remember when our credulity had lulled us in the snares of that treacherous abbess? You, remember the night when you were borne from the house adjoining Emily’s convent?”

“Too well. I have bitter cause.”

“Your mother and myself had yielded to repose, which was broken by the sound of the great bell in the convent. We arose, went to the window, and perceived a large body of men at the gate. We hurried to dress, hastened to your apartment, found only your apparel, and gave you up as lost forever! Anxious to preserve my Eleanora, I hoped to escape with her into the forest, and leave her concealed among the thickets, under cover of the night, whilst I returned to learn your fate. The house was filling with soldiers. I took your mother by the hand, led her by chance down the back-stairs, and there meeting a poor young girl, who was a servant in the house, we earnestly implored her pity. Our appeal to her heart was sudden—she was surprised into compassion; her eyes shot forth the finer charities of the female character; and, without speaking, she conducted us through a kind of cellar, by which we got safely from the house, whilst the lights were increasing, and the uproar was high.

“In flying into the forest, we met an old man and his son, whose
direction

direction we requested, provided they knew the country. They not only gave information, but offered to conduct us; and we desired them to pursue no beaten path, but seek the deep part of the wood. The old man ushered on my dear wife; the young one, with his sword drawn (for he was a soldier), walked behind us.

"You will be amazed at the caprice of fortune when I tell you these two men were the father and brother of poor ill-fated Anna!—She had informed us, that her father was gone to see her brother, who was ill in an hospital. They had met—Malnor was recovered, and they were returning to their cottage, wherein their lovely relative was to be seen no more."

"Malnor! Sir!—Impossible! He was a prisoner here when I came."

"It might be so!—Malnor and his father continued to guide us into the thick part of the forest—our flight was vain! We were overtaken by a party of dragoons. I was unwilling to surrender; the soldiers were fierce; and my Eleanora, wild with apprehension for the man she loved, threw herself before me, and received the point of a bayonet aimed at my heart. She fell at my feet! I threw myself down by her, raised her drooping head, and called on her affrighted spirit! My anguish was terrible!—Eleanora whispered—

"Henry! my loved, my injured Henry, a long farewell!"—

"And spoke to me no more. Deaf to the threats of the ferocious soldiers, I lay on the ground; the barbarians deemed my sorrows of no importance; and, after consigning the breathless form of my angel-wife to the care of the old man, they bound his unfortunate son, and condemned him to share my future destiny. We were, however, confined to different prisons, till within the last eighteen months.

"The tears of the aged are rich! They are full of the remembrance of many years!—They plentifully rolled from the eyes of Melnor's father.

"O good old man! what can be said to comfort thee!—Thou art despoiled of all! Thou knowest not thy bitterness of woe!—Thou art the harmless victim of guilty greatness! The slaves of voluptuousness have caused thy venerable head to bow over the tomb of thy unoffending Anna.—She is gone!"

"Gone!—I left her at home—" (replied the poor cottager).

"She is no more! And, with me, thy generous son is doomed to be cut off from liberty. Do not weep! Bear life a little longer!—Thou hast been used hardly, very hardly, in this world—We know not why. Thou wilt soon turn thy back upon it, and thy Anna may welcome thee in another sphere!

"I charge thee to hold my Eleanora sacred! Every angel, near the throne of the Creator, will look down and approve thee! Sit near her till morn; some pitying passengers may assist thee in performing

her obsequies; and should they mourn over so much beauty, O! tell them, their every tear is precious to the brother of their king."

"The soldiers started—Malnor at a distance, with his hands bound, observed a sullen silence—I was too distracted to be explicit. The old man was earnest; would have said something of Anna; but the state hirelings, by which we were surrounded, hurried us from the scene, and left the father of Malnor bathed in tears near the form of my lamented Eleanora."

"What a state was this! Our sorrows were reciprocal.—Still I was not satisfied—my soul seemed to thirst for new horrors, as if an extensive knowledge of irremediable calamity could give ease. My father endeavoured with difficulty to go on.—Frequent sighs from his broken heart interrupted him; but he informed me, that after a series of insult and oppression, Malnor and himself were put on board a vessel; and, upon landing, conveyed to this castle, through a long and dismal passage, cut out of the earth near the sea shore; and added,

"We were confined, the first night, in a subterraneous dungeon or cell, somewhere in this wing of the castle, into which we were forced through a small door in the rock; it being judged necessary that I never should be known, nor even seen to enter this infernal prison. Malnor was not allowed to remain here, he was conducted to a separate prison: I know not whether the picture of your mother was stolen from me that night, or whether I lost it in that den—it was gone from my bosom in the morning, when this mask was fixed on me, forever to remain! My features thus concealed, I was permitted to ascend, and sometimes walk on this side the castle, but never allowed to speak, on the peril of being shot; for the observance of this, a man always attended me with a loaded pistol; but here guards would be superfluous. I am not expected to survive long; my coffin is provided, at my request; here I linger neglected and forgotten."

"Taking the picture of my mother from my bosom, I pressed it to my lips with tender reverence; and, on my knee, once more restored it to a heart impressed with her image!—We could not speak.—

"My father's eyes alternately wandered from the picture to me—he looked wildly—I was terrified at the conflict I saw him endeavouring to support.—

"Departed angel! I shall soon be with thee!"—

"O my father—"

"Grieve not, my Henry! I am consoled with the idea of meeting my Eleanora beyond the grave."

"Try to hope!—Try to live, my dearest father!—My uncle, the duke of B***, will persevere!—will deliver you—Let me rouse you from dejection!"

"To strengthen my supplication, I hastily related the wonderful chance

chance by which I secured the great key; Famminée's terror, on supposing she had seen a ghost; Dormond's absence; the favour I was in with him, and my hope of secretly administering comfort.

‘ My father had much to say; I waved his enquiries, but hinted that I was a prisoner for life.

“ Noble Henry! How worthy a better fate!”

“ Weep not for me, my dear sir! — hope! — I will try to draw you from this dungeon; I will soothe Dormond on his return; I think he is a stranger to my birth; and we need not reveal that secret; but I will visit you at midnight, bring you comfort, invite you to eat, invite you to live for my sake!”

‘ My father faintly smiled, and suppressed a sigh.

‘ Fearing the day would break, I bade him adieu for the moment; ascended, fixed the ring in the floor, and left all in appearance as I found it.

‘ My heart melted with tender anxiety over my sacred treasure. Here was an object for me to live for! Here was a father! my soul, so lately desolated by faithless love, welcomed the heavenly joy of filial piety.’ V. iii. P. 245.

Soon after this critical period, Dormond, the keeper of the castle, having received private instructions to put Henry and his father to death in consequence of the castle having been attacked by insurgents whose aim was to release them, invites Henry, as a matter of curiosity, to see the hall of execution, a place where the victims of despotism receive the only mercy in the gift of tyrants. Such a scene required no small skill in the writer.

The remainder of the volume includes the separate adventures of Eleanora, Emily, the abbé Dorovontes, the death of Grandine, and the reconciliation of Emily to Henry. In this last, there is rather too much of the artificial caprice with which some novel-writers have thought proper to dignify the compliance of their heroines. Emily's conduct is not natural: she ought to have shared the blame, if the effects of a misunderstanding be blameable; but pride and affectation are not consistent with her character, and therefore misplaced, although they occasion some scenes of tenderness which will no doubt be relished by sentimental readers.

This novel may be recommended, not merely as the vehicle of amusement for an idle hour, but as containing a portion of useful instruction, and an unexceptionable moral. Very considerable powers of thinking are displayed, and the reader is often arrested by a quickness of reflection which he cannot pass without self-examination. It may indeed be doubted whether the incidents are not in some degree improbable; but this is so much the case in all works of the kind, that it may

perhaps be defended by prescription, especially where the improbability is not very gross. A more serious objection may however be made to the progression of the incidents, which is sometimes too abrupt; and what is intended to be surprising, is at best only unaccountable from a deficiency of connecting particulars. Having stated this, it is but justice to add that the work altogether may be ranked among the productions of real genius; and we are persuaded that its reception by the public will soon dissipate those fears which the authorefs expressed with so much feeling in the preface to the first volume.

Theory of Tides. Translated from the French of Monsieur De St. Pierre. 8vo. Johnson, Bath. 1795.

ST. Pierre has been treated as a visionary writer; and perhaps some of his conjectures on the natural phænomena of the world have diminished the respect which might otherwise have been paid to the benevolence of his system for the improvement of the moral world. In the work before us we see many traces of his amiable disposition: we are inclined to make allowances for his wanderings on an intricate subject: we are gratified with many valuable observations, which he has gleaned from a variety of writers; and in opposition to that dogmatical philosophy which derides every thing not belonging to its own system, we can receive both pleasure and improvement from an author with whom we differ on his chief hypothesis; and we reflect; that, if the philosophers' stone was merely a visionary object, we are indebted to the alchymist for many valuable discoveries in chemistry. The hints thrown out in this work deserve attention from the navigator, and may lead to valuable knowledge, by exciting posterity to make more accurate observations on the great phænomena of the ocean, and to form a system by which its various currents may be traced, and the course of its watery inhabitants determined.

St. Pierre conceives the Newtonian doctrine of the tides to be erroneous; and, to explain the cause of them, he proposes another hypothesis. The earth, instead of being flattened at the poles, assumes an opposite appearance: it may be considered as divided into two parts or mountains at the equator, whose frozen summits are the poles; and, as vast rivers flow from the glaciers of Switzerland, from these most enormous glaciers at the poles are derived our oceans. Of course, in the summer months there will, by the melting of the ice at the poles, be a current southward from the northern pole, and in the winter northward from the southern pole. The tides are made by the semi-diurnal fusions of the ice, and there are two every
 twenty-

twenty-four hours, because the sun during that time alternately heats the eastern and western side of the melting pole.

The first objection to this doctrine is the circular figure of the earth's shadow observed in eclipses of the moon; but this is got over by observations made on central eclipses,—the one in 1588, by Tycho Brahe, the other by Kepler in 1624, to whom the shadow appeared, 'as if the earth was elliptical, having a less diameter under the equator, and a longer one from pole to pole.' But these observations are not sufficient to counterbalance the numerous testimonies since that time to a contrary appearance. We might object also, that if there were such an immense body of ice at the poles, capable of producing the tides, their heights could not at all be calculated, as at present, from the appearance of the moon: they must regularly increase from the time that there was a minimum of heat at the poles, to the time that the heat there became a maximum, from which time they must gradually decrease again till the heat became a minimum. Supposing this melting of ice at the poles, which must every half year very materially diminish its altitude, our author leaves us to find out by what means the immense granary is to be again supplied. We shall not say any thing here on the nature of gravitation, or the shape that a revolving body must necessarily take, or the analogy that may be drawn between the earth and the other planets: enough, we think, has been observed, to overthrow the worthy author's hypothesis, and we shall only take notice of the other chief features of his system.

The northern lights are solved by the refraction of light by the polar ice, and it is conjectured that the height of this ice may be discovered by the extent to which these lights are perceivable. The change in the weight of this ice must influence the motion of the earth in the ecliptic; for the earth must present the heaviest part to the sun, and as one pole gets heavier and the other lighter, the centre of gravity will be continually changing, and 'from this reciprocal balance arises the rotation of the earth in the ecliptic, which gives us the returns of summer and winter.' As our hemisphere is also heavier than the southern, it must be longer presented to the sun, and consequently we have five or six days more summer than winter.

It will be needless for us to investigate his philosophical solutions; he proceeds to trace the effects of his polar streams in the production of currents, and hazards a conjecture that a communication may be kept up with distant countries by means of these currents, without expence; that as the forests of Germany supply Holland with annual floats down the Rhine, the timber of America may be conveyed to us with equal ease

by means of a current. In this part are many excellent extracts from the voyages of distinguished navigators: and the reflections made on part of the journal of Sonchu de Rennefort, in his voyage from the Azores on the 20th of June 1666, will, we are confident, be gratifying to our readers,

"From the 40th to the 43d degree," he says, "we fell in, with broken masts, yards, and tops of ships, which made us conclude there had been some dreadful wreck. The striking on these was much dreaded on board *La Vierge de bon Port*, an old vessel, rotten, and easily stove. It has since been known, that this havoc was the consequence of an action fought between the French and Dutch on one side, and the English on the other, which it had been fortunate for us to have been earlier apprized of."

† Rennefort's ship, not knowing of the war between France and England, was so unfortunate as to be captured and sunk by an English frigate, near Guernsey, the eighteenth day after this observation, that is, on the 10th of July.

† This dreadful wreck, covering the sea for the space of three degrees, or of seventy-five leagues, proceeded from the most obstinate combat which has yet been known on that element, fought by the English on one side, and the Dutch on the other. It began the 11th of June, and continued four days. The British fleet was composed of eighty-five ships of war, and the Dutch, commanded by Ruyter, of ninety sail. Nearly twenty-one thousand men, and four thousand five hundred cannon, were engaged on each side. Of the English, twenty-three ships perished, most of whom were burnt or sunk. Of the Dutch, only four, but almost every ship lost all, or nearly all, her masts. About nine thousand men fell. The historians of each nation, as usual, carried the glory of their respective fleets to immortality,—but it was too evident, that nine thousand mutilated and half-consumed bodies, abandoned to sharks and to sea-dogs, afforded the monsters of the ocean an example of ferocity only to be met with in human nature, and the prodigious number of masts and yards, mixed with red and white crosses, were borne as lessons to barbarians, and taught them how nations, styling themselves Christian, arrange their mutual differences.

† This wreck was certainly carried beyond the Azores. It is probable, that during that season a considerable portion floated to the shores and islands on the western side of Africa. It was precisely for the slave-trade in Africa, that England and Holland were waging war. These powers had in the preceding year commenced hostilities on the coast of Guinea, and in the Cape de Verd Islands, to the ruin of the inhabitants. Let us, then, imagine this wreck of the battle of Ostend, carried beyond the Cape de Verd, and near the island of St. John's, so little frequented by Europeans, that the Portuguese name them *brava*, or *savages*. Its virtuous and hospitable inhabit-

inhabitants, according to the Englishman Roberts, who experienced their tender care, are so modest, that they consider men of colour as submitted, by the express will of the Deity, to the power of the whites. They are confirmed in this idea, by considering the scale of European commerce, one branch of which offers every wealth to Europe, whilst the other, laden with evils, presses hard upon unfortunate Africa! — But when, from the summit of their rocks, under their cocoa and banana shade, they discovered along their peaceable shores this horrid succession of masts, yards, galleries, poops, figures half burned, stained with human gore, and mixed with European colours, they beheld the scourge of Africa rising in its turn, and pressing hard on Europe. In this reaction of calamity they doubtless acknowledged, that eternal justice is equally dispensed to the oppressed and the oppressor.

‘ A king of France, it is said, caused the bodies of criminals to be thrown into the river, with this gloomy label, “*Let the king's justice pass.*” — The Chinese and Japanese have the same mode of punishment for pirates infesting the navigation of their rivers. And thus the wrecks of these ships of war, which had so often spread terror on the Atlantic ocean, were borne by its currents, and their vast ribs, purpled with human blood, and now the sport of the African sea, spoke much clearer than labels, to its oppressed inhabitants, and said, or seemed to say, “*O blacks, behold, as it passes, the glory of whites, and the justice of God!*”

‘ It were a calculation worthy, I will not say, of modern politicians, who esteem nothing in the creation greater than gold and power; but of the friends of human nature to inquire, if the slave-trade has not caused as many evils to Europe as to Africa, and what are the advantages it has produced to each?

‘ The first thing to be thrown in the scale, on the side of Africa, are the wars which its nations enter into, to procure slaves for sale to Europeans. The rigorous despotism of its kings, who, to effect this purpose, deliver up their own subjects. The unnatural character of these subjects, who, in the practice, carry to market their wives and children. The greater part of the maritime states of Africa, rendered desert by the emigration of their inhabitants, sold to slavery. The mortality of great numbers of these wretches, dying on their passage to the islands, the consequence of bad food, of punishment, of excessive labour, of scarcity of provisions, of misery, sorrow, and despair. There, doubtless, are tears and blood enough shed by Africa; but the balance of misfortune is at least equalled in Europe, if we consider the navigation itself of Africa, whose unwholesome climate carries off the whole crew of our ships, and the garrisons in our settlements. The dysenteries, the scurvy, the putrid fevers, and particularly that of Guinea, which in three days destroys the most athletic men.—Add to these physical ills the moral malady of slavery, which in our islands destroys the first feelings of

of humanity; for wherever slaves exist, tyrants are produced.—Add the effect of this depravity in morals on Europe.—Add to the ills of this part of the world, the resources of rural labour withdrawn in the West Indies from our merchants and farmers; great numbers of whom are idle with us, from the want of employ and possessions.—Add the wars which the slave-trade occasions among the maritime powers of Europe, their factories taken and retaken, their naval fights, sweeping away nine thousand men at once, without including those maimed for the rest of their days,—wars, which like the plague, are communicated to interior Europe by their alliances, and to the rest of the world by their commerce.

‘These things considered, it will be admitted that the balance of European evils is fully equal to that of Africa. With respect to the balance of profit, it is reduced on each side to small account. We cannot in conscience estimate as gain, the money produced to the Africans by the sale of their fellow creatures,—nor our iron sabres, with which they cripple each other,—nor our bad muskets, which fracture their skulls,—nor our spirits, which sap their vigour and destroy their intellects. To them the whole is reduced to a few bells and glasses: The advantages to Europe are sugar, coffee, and cotton, produced in the West Indies by the drudgery of slaves; but those unimproved and imperfect productions cannot be compared to the manufacture and produce of all kinds, which free, happy, and intelligent European cultivators would raise in those plantations.

‘It appears to me, that if this estimate of weighty evils and insignificant gains were weighed by the maritime and Christian powers of Europe, they would at length acknowledge that it is not sufficient to forbid slavery at home, as a means of rendering their subjects happy and industrious, but that they must equally forbid slavery in their colonies, as the foundation of happiness to their subjects, to that of human nature, and to the honor of their religion.’ p. 65.

Worthy St. Pierre! we agree with thee in thy conclusion: we regret that reiterated remonstrances cannot bring our countrymen to the sense of that duty which they owe to God, to themselves, and to their children: we would wish that every Englishman would seriously reflect on the necessary consequences of this patronage of wickedness and fraud, and we dread to think that the history of all ages leads us to conclude that every instance of national depravity has been constantly followed by some singular mark of divine vengeance.

A Discourse by way of General Preface to the Quarto Edition of Bishop Warburton's Works, containing some Account of the Life, Writings, and Character of the Author. (Continued from page 210.)

'MR. Warburton very properly neglected,' in the opinion of bishop Hurd, 'all attacks on his own critical fame;' and we think with his lordship, not so much for the reason contained in the lines upon Hargrave—

'Lie still if you're wise, &c.'

as because his opponents, and particularly the ablest of them, EDWARDS, was so wretched a critic. Of this *the Canons of Criticism* afford abundant proofs. But though Mr. Warburton was so forbearing on his own account, he was more warm in the cause of his friend; nor indeed—considering that the alienation of Mr. Pope from lord Bolingbroke was owing to himself—could he with propriety have left the character of the poet at the mercy of the philosopher. 'Mr. Warburton therefore thought it became him to vindicate his deceased friend; and he did it so effectually, as not only to silence his accuser, but to cover him with confusion.' Here, stimulated by the like or even a more generous impulse, Dr. Hurd undertakes to defend Mr. Addison against a charge of immoral meanness brought against him by Mr. Pope himself,—persuaded that the charge (which concerned Mr. Tickell's translation of Homer) was without the least foundation. As the vindication thus offered had the good fortune to satisfy bishop Warburton notwithstanding his bias towards Pope, it may be presumed sufficient for the general conviction. Returning from this digression, our attention is called to Mr. Warburton's next work, which was the book entitled by him JULIAN; or, *A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem*, published in 1750, and 'written throughout in the genuine spirit of its author.' From the mention of the last circumstance, it will not be thought surprising that this book should have met with the fate of the author's other writings, which was, to be censured at home. Foreigners, however, (being, no doubt, far better judges) were generally much taken with it, and the president Montesquieu was *enchanted*. But notwithstanding this—for the sincerity of a French compliment no man can doubt—there are still some, and even hard heads, who assert that the one part of the work reverses the other.

'Nothing,' says bishop Hurd, 'shews the extent of Mr. Warburton's genius, and the command of it, more, than his being able to mix the lightest with the most serious studies;'

and

and when we consider the circumstance which gave rise to this remark, we can neither enough admire the pertinence of it, nor the greatness of the occasion whence it arose, which was no other than that Mr. Warburton, from commenting on Shakspeare, could set himself to write his *Julian*, and again, from that work, proceed to his edition of Pope. Sure, 'none but himself could be his parallel!'—On the edition of Pope, his lordship remarks—'as none can *divine* so happily of a poet's meaning as the well-exercised critic, if he be at the same time of a congenial spirit with his author, it is no wonder that he made this (what I formerly said of it, and still think it to be) *the best edition that was ever given of any classic.*' With the deference, however, due to bishop Hurd upon other occasions, we must here beg leave to express our dissent, at least so far as Horace and Cowley can warrant.

Henceforth (notwithstanding Mr. Warburton's success in this kind of literature) we are to see him no more as a *diviner*, but a *divine*; the latter of which characters 'he ennobled' by a set of *Sermons* preached at Lincoln's Inn on the *Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion*, and published in the years 1752, 1754, and 1767. Of these discourses, after much else said in their praise, the biographer adds—'In short, they were written for the use of men of parts and learning, and will only be relished by such.' As to the learning displayed in them, it reminds us of captain Carver's description of the American lakes, which, in passing over, are so pellucid to the eye, as to seem altogether aerial; and in reference to the other qualities of these sermons, we cannot but lament, whatever relish they may afford to some, the want of parts in ourselves to relish them as we ought.

A long friendship having subsisted between the late Charles York and Mr. Warburton, the fruit of it appeared in 1753, when lord chancellor Hardwicke offered the latter a prebend in the church of Gloucester. This stall had been filled by the author of *the Intellectual System*, to whom, upon that occasion, the author of *the Divine Legation* was compared. 'But what idea of dignity soever might be annexed to this prebend, he exchanged it,' says his biographer, 'a year or two after,'—[as became a man, no doubt, bred to 'that profession, which is thought to qualify men best for the management of their own affairs']—'for one of more value, in the church of Durham,' procured for him by Mr. Murray, from the then bishop, Trevor.

The year before, Mr. Warburton had been made chaplain to the king, a promotion which, as well as the present, made it decent for him to take his doctor's degree; and, lo!—'the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Herring, very wisely took

to himself the honour (which the university of Oxford had unhappily declined) of conferring that distinction upon him.*

The philosophical works of lord Bolingbroke were published in 1753. Dr. Warburton—[‘who had very early penetrated the views of that writer, and observing some tincture of his principles (but without the knowledge of the author, who could not be trusted with the secret) artfully instilled into the *Essay on Man*, had incurred his immortal hatred by making the discovery, and in consequence of it, by reasoning Mr. Pope out of his hands *]—might easily foresee what would follow, whenever these volumes should come forth.’ The *Alliance and Divine Legation* were accordingly assailed with the most poignant invectives. Hence Dr. Warburton was provoked, as well as prepared to repel the attack, and as—according to the apostle—the wrath of man worketh † the righteousness of God, he, from these best of motives, animated in the defence of religion, exhibited on this occasion his piety and zeal. In doing this, however, it is remarkable that, ‘from the apprehension of displeasing some by it whom he most honoured, and especially as the time was critical,’ he published this work without his name; and so well was the secret kept that lord Mansfield—then Mr. Murray—the person here alluded to, appears to have been ignorant by whom the godless volumes of his noble friend had been attacked, till the critical time was past, and the promise of the stall at Durham obtained. So well had Dr. Warburton profited by ‘the profession that qualifies men best to manage their affairs!’ and thus did he subserve what he thought to be his duty, as is evident from his own declarations—‘The thing will be without my name, and a secret. I wish it may in no degree displease one, I have so much reason to value as our friend; nay I would not have it displease any of his friends on his account. You will ask me then why I venture upon it? I will tell you sincerely. I think it my duty, for I am a Christian. I think I was designed to be the declared enemy of infidelity; for I am a little fanatical.’ Some time after the two first letters of the *View* were published, an anonymous letter of expostulation was sent him, which he suspected to come

* Amongst all the proofs of Dr. Warburton's ability, we think this by far the most extraordinary, viz that, when the *Essay on Man* should have been attacked, as imputing *naturalism*, or the godless doctrine of Bolingbroke, Dr. Warburton, perceiving the truth of the charge, should have insulted Croustaz for asserting it,—confuted what he had in written in support of this charge,—reasoned Mr. Pope out of the hands of his guide, philosopher, and friend,—and convinced the poet himself,—poor innocent,—who had been writing atheism without knowing it,—that his work was an admirable defence of religion.—What discoveries would the world have been unblest with, but for this so wonderful a man!

† All the copies indeed read —worketh not— but it is no uncommon thing for copies to exhibit a sense the reverse of what they ought. See, for instance, bishop Warburton's *Shakspeare*, or the *Canons of Criticism*, extracted from his notes.

from Mr. Murray. Finding now that he trod *per cineres dolosæ*, and there was no retreating, he dexterously resolved to make his apology, ('as he was denied the opportunity of a private explanation') which he did in a public answer to this letter. Accordingly, in 1755, the two concluding letters of the View were printed, with an *Apology for the two first*, as a prefatory discourse to the whole, in which, says bishop Hurd, 'his very soul came forth in every sentence, and is no where seen to more advantage than in this Apology,—at once the most interesting, and the most masterly of all his works.' 'It had,' continues the biographer, 'the effect which was natural, on the so much respected letter-writer; who thought fit to preserve an inviolable silence in regard to this Apology, but by a signal act of friendship, done to the author very soon after, shewed how entirely satisfied he was with him.' The last sentence affords much matter for remark. In the first place it contains the probable reason why, lord Mansfield being dead, bishop Hurd has published this life in his own life-time; secondly, it gives a handsome opportunity for the delicacy of friendship to shine forth and illuminate the characters of both these friends; and, thirdly, it displays Dr. Warburton's skill in managing his matters, by reducing Mr. Murray to a situation in which he could not act otherwise than he did, without exposing himself to the world as the advocate of atheism, and calling forth on himself his friend Warburton's zeal. To which add, that, as appears from Dr. Warburton's letter to his biographer, Mr. Murray was engaged to him on the business of the stall prior to the two former letters of the View being published,—[for to that transaction Dr. Warburton refers, when he says—'As to my View of Bolingbroke, I tell you in confidence, I am apprehensive of displeasing some by it whom I most honour, and at a critical time']—wherefore, whatever Mr. Murray's opinion of the Apology might be, and which he so carefully kept to himself; he was adroitly urged into a cleft stick, and had no room for evasion.

Dr. Warburton, thinking himself commissioned from above the declared enemy of infidelity, after this complete triumph over the chieftain of the party, proceeded, as might well be expected, to carry onward the warfare; and accordingly, from Bolingbroke, advanced against Hume. The latter having published his *Natural History of Religion* in 1755, Dr. Warburton was induced to make strictures thereupon, and insert them on the margins of that work as he read it. These he consigned to his biographer to publish, and of them speaks in the following terms:—'I will tell you fairly, it is no more the thing it should be, than the Dantzic iron at the forge is the gilt and painted ware at Birmingham. It will make no more than a pamphlet; but you shall take your own time, and make it your
summer's

summer's amusement, if you will. I propose it to bear something like this title—Remarks on Mr. Hume's late Essay, called *The Natural History of Religion*, by a Gentleman of Cambridge, in a Letter to the Rev. Dr. Warburton.' Those who are curious to see what share each writer had in this production, may satisfy themselves by comparing the pamphlet with the Remarks themselves, inserted in the sixth volume of Warburton's works. Bishop Hurd's account is as follows: 'I saw he was not disposed to take much trouble about the thing. The hint of the address to himself suggested the means of preserving his remarks, without any injury to his reputation, and indeed without much labour to myself. Having therefore transcribed them with little alteration, I only wrote a short introduction and conclusion, merely to colour the proposed fiction, and in this form sent them to the press.'

In 1758 Dr. Warburton printed, what he had for some time been preparing, a correct and improved edition of the first volume of the *Divine Legation*,—the notes to which are numerous and large, and some of them, answers to observations of archbishop Secker, communicated to himself by their author. 'Dr. Secker,' says bishop Hurd, 'was a wise man, an edifying preacher, and an exemplary bishop. But the course of his life and studies had not qualified him to decide on such a work, as that of the *Divine Legation*. Even in the narrow walk of literature he most affected, that of criticising the Hebrew text, it does not appear that he attained to any great distinction. His chief merit (and surely it was a very great one) lay in explaining clearly and popularly the principles delivered by his friend bishop Butler in his famous book of the *Analogy*, and in shewing the important use of them to religion.'—Upon this famous passage we make no remark, as there are many of the archbishop's friends who are, we trust, as well disposed as qualified to render him justice.

This section of the life closes with the mention of Dr. Warburton's promotion in 1757 to the deanry of Bristol, and in the beginning of the year 1760, by Mr. Allen's interest with the minister, Mr. Pitt, to the bishopric of Gloucester. On the last transaction we are told Mr. Pitt gloried, as what did honour to his administration. But however much 'this virtuous self-gratulation became the minister,' we cannot forbear thinking that the honour would have been as great, and the sincerity of the glorying not less, without the pre-requisite of the INTEREST of Mr. ALLEN. Upon occasion however of this preferment, bishop Hurd has been led to scepticise on the question, 'whether the proper scene of abilities like Warburton's be not a private station, where only great writers have the leisure to do great things?'—proceeding on the ground

that THE ALLIANCE and DIVINE LEGATION were written in privacy, as well as the immortal work of ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY, 'which in the end proved so fatal to our *English* Disciplinarians; now rising again in the shape of *Levellers* and *Socinians*; but to fall again in good time by one or other of our learned clergy, going forth against them, in the spirit of order and of orthodoxy, from the cool invigorating shade of private life.' 'But,' adds his lordship, 'let me not be misunderstood. When I say that great men should not be taken from their privacy, I speak of great men *indeed*.' The touches of fine writing contained in this extract, who can sufficiently admire? What an exquisite alliteration between 'ORDER and ORTHODOXY!' and how acute the observation, that cold and shade best invigorate the growth of their votaries! But to pass from these, the note on the words 'private life' must not be omitted, ['Soon after I had hazarded this prediction, I had the pleasure to see one half of it completely fulfilled. See Dr. Horsley's *Charge to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of St. Alban's*, and his unanswerable *Letters*, in vindication of it.—This able divine was deservedly advanced to the see of St. David's in 1788; and has since [1793] been translated to that of Rochester.'] though it would have been more satisfactory, if his lordship had condescended to inform us, which half of his prediction had found its completion. But, though on this head we are left in uncertainty, yet, from the approbation bestowed on Dr. Horsley's preferments, bishop Hurd is much more precise in another particular, viz. in appreciating the talents of bishop Horsley himself, since the foregoing approbation hath affixed him amongst the *great men* that may, and not those that should not, be taken from their privacy, emphatically styled '*great men* INDEED!'

(To be concluded in our next.)

Fifty Years' Correspondence, English, French, and Latin, in Prose and Verse; between Geniuses of both Sexes, and James Elphinston; including an Appendix Miscellaneous. The Original Letters to be seen in the hands of the Editor.
2 Vols. 12mo. 7s. sewed. Richardson. 1794.

THIS is indeed a miscellaneous collection; and we congratulate the geniuses on being thus brought forward in new dresses to the public view. Mr. Elphinston has already given us six volumes of his private correspondence: and if his friends continue their kindness to him, we may be favoured with six volumes more, equally interesting, before his death; and his executors most probably will find a sufficient stock in hand to

double

double the number. These letters are chiefly written on very uninteresting subjects,—contain private anecdotes,—and are more distinguished by the mode of spelling than any peculiar excellence of style or diction. The author, however, does not confine himself only to his own friends: we have the letters of Mr. Pope, Mr. Gay, bishop Atterbury, Fitzosborn, and others,—papers from the Rambler, Spectator, and translations from the French, all decorated by the new orthography. Latin and French letters are also intermixed, and the two volumes are no bad specimens of the modern art of book-making.

We have already noticed the defects in the system of orthography adopted by this writer. It is not likely that he should attempt the correction of them, and as little probable that his mode should come into general practice. We shall select one extract only from his work, which contains a severe description of the manners of Scotland: and as we are much afraid that there is too much truth in some of these remarks on our northern brethren, we wish they may be excited to free themselves from every species of bigotry and superstition in the lower, as of infidelity in the higher classes.

‘ Next in bonds to’ children, ar servants: and shal not servants also pant for libberty? dhe peculiar libberty ov Ingland! Doo dhey not inhale it widh her verry air? If dhoze dhat ar baught widh a price, in oddher parts even ov Brittish dominion, proov beyond all price or property; and, like oddher Inglish servants, acknowledge no master, dhe blessed moment dhey ar braught to’ fet foot on our iland; if servants can now no more liv in Brittain, dhan scorpions in Ireland; dhen haz dhis divine spot acquired a vertue, denied to’ all dhe oddher spots on dhe globe; and Brittish libberty works at wonce a mirrakel, unattempted by him, hoo made dhe world; hoo baught bac hiz own mankind widh a price, and yet proclaimed deliverance to’ dhe captives ov all nations.

‘ Since dherefore all men ar born equal, and all duties ar opcional, under dhe auspicious reign ov moddern fredom; she nevver can imoze a yoke, upon her own children; or lay dhe load ov labor, anoddher name for slavery, upon a true-born Inglishman.

‘ Let her lay it, if she can, upon dhe lazy, beggarly, thievish, rebellious, ignorant, and impudent, Scotch! Dhoze barbarians, hwatevver dhey may pretend, hwen dhey enter blessed Ingland, ar stil said so to’ lord it at home, over libberty’s erritage, az perversely to’ retain dhe tyrannical maxim, dhat servants shood obey, az wel az children! Ov dhis od opinnion, dhe poor Caledonians ar, it seems, so tenacious; dhat dheir parsons preach it from dhe poolpit, and dheir judges pronounce it on dhe bench: dhat minnisters and madgistrates join cruel harts and hands, against dhe common pepel; and fet dheir jellous eyes togueddher, to’ keep fight ov evvery won ov dhem; az ov so manny sheep, in a perrillous pasture; dhat no

C. R. N. AAR. (XIV.) *August*, 1795.

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won be lost, or even start astray. And dhe too natural consequence iz dhat, for fear (forsooth!) ov edher dhe law or dhe gospel, dhe wretches, so inspected, dare no more absent dhemselves from their parrish-church on a Sunday, dhan forguet dheir lesson during dhe week. Like children, verry truly, ar dhe poor folks treated. Grown men and wimmen, az long az dhey liv; and littel wons, az soon az dhey can lisp; masters and their servants, if dhey equally brook it; are not onely vizzited, perioddically and occasionally, at dheir respective homes, by dhe officious parson; hoo exammines, admonnishes and reproovs, az he plezes; but ar solemnly summoned to' church, at particcular sezons; dhare cattekized aguen, and expozed in public, to' the wond'rous eddification ov dhe Christian pepel! and anny won convicted, if but by conscience, (for dhey hav an invizzibel coart ov conscience, perhaps dheir seccond sight,) ov certain misdemeanors, subject also to' penal statutes, iz stuc up, like a statue, before dhe congregacion, and repprimanded by dhe minnister, az a criminal by hiz judge. Nor iz dhis anny presbyterian innovacion: it iz but a remnant ov episcopal tyranny, not swept away by dhe clenzing Revolution. Nay, dhe self-same discipline afflicted wonce anoddher church, not yet duly thankfool for her delivverance from it. But, hwatevver ground libberty may hav gained in England, she still feels dhe dire effects ov the unnatural Union. By dhis a dore waz openèd to' every Scotch invader; by dhis dhe childrens bred waz cast to' dhe dogs, dhat came to' devour dhem. By dhis came Scottish practices, widh Scottish principles, into' England; and dhoze spirrits she so duly despised or detested, ar at London on a level widh her own! But, howevver imperceptibel be dhe difference, or inconsequential, if not mutually advantageous, dhe emmulacion ov dhe higher ranks ov dhe united kingdoms; dhe contrast ov dhe lower iz az vizzibel, az its cauz; and dhe dainger ov servants' being invited into' England, hware Libberty haz left non, may be exemplified in dhe preference she alreddy so often vouchsafes to' Caledonian gardeners, hoos occupacion, naturally innocent, and constitution not dhe les vigorous, ar not found much impaired by dhe confinement ov dheir youth, or dhe erly culture ov dheir minds. Hwat iz bred in dhe bone, guets not ezily out ov dhe flesh; so deep indeed proofs dheir first tincture, dhat all dhe opportunities ov improovment from libberty, hwen dhey com to' be fourrounded widh exampel and instruction, ar too commonly thrown away. Dhoze fellows can no more lern to' think Inglissh, dhan to' talk Inglissh. Dhe organs ov dheir mind ar, by nature or by habbit, az perverse az dhe organs ov dheir boddy. Dhey hav not dhe soll even to' claim dhat share, manny might not grudge dhem, in dhe Union. Hardly hear we ov dheir making anny figgure at all, amid dhe Inglissh and Irish heroes; hoos lives and deiths, for libberty, so animate and eddify dlie public. Vol. ii. p. 228.

A View

A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution.
 By John Moore, M. D. (Concluded from page 133.)

AS this work is professedly a review of the French revolution,—in order to ascertain the connection between its progress and the nature of the causes which led to it, we are not to expect a more minute detail of facts and little particulars than is absolutely necessary for the main purpose the author proposed. One object, of which he seldom loses sight, and which, we think, he will be found to have attained in a very considerable degree, is to prove that a republican spirit prevailed generally among the leaders, and that the people were taught to encourage it by the frequent instances of insincerity on the part of the court and jealousy on the side of the patriots. Of this we have an instance almost immediately on the recall of M. Necker, whose humanity, rather than his love of power, induced him to take an active share in the conduct of public affairs at a time when he could not but perceive that the power of the king was on the wane. His attempt to save M. Le Baron de Bezenval proved abortive; the release of that nobleman was indeed decreed by the general assembly of electors, but opposed by Mirabeau, whose jealousy of M. Necker was thereby gratified, and by Robespierre, who even then ‘betrayed somewhat of that cruel and unrelenting spirit which has since spread dread and horror all over France.’ M. Necker could not upon this occasion apply to the national assembly who were overawed by the decided measures of the electors, nor to the king, because, though the fountain of mercy, he had in reality no authority whatever.

After a succinct account of the memorable sacrifices made by the nobility and clergy on the 4th of August, Dr. Moore remarks, that the conduct of the national assembly towards the clergy resembled that of the Roman senate towards the Carthaginians in the third Punic war. The most striking difference, however, he adds, in the two cases, is that those whom the Romans treated in this perfidious manner had been for ages their ancient and inveterate enemies; whereas those whom the national assembly treated thus unjustly were their own countrymen, and that part of their countrymen whose peculiar duty it was to teach benevolence and good will towards mankind.

The debates on the *veto* engage a considerable portion of our author’s attention. On that subject there can now, we believe, be very little difference of opinion. The assembly were certainly so solicitous to secure the legislative power from the attempts of the executive, that they forgot that it was a monarchical constitution which they had professed to establish. If

they did not mean to overturn the monarchy, they lie under the imputation of extreme folly; if they did, they could not have placed a power in the king's hands so likely to effect the purpose the moment he used it. The difference betwixt an absolute and suspensive *veto* is not important. It served to dispute about: but the result was equally unfortunate to the monarch; and the people, our author observes, were as much displeased at the one as at the other. The proposal for two chambers or houses was opposed by the enemies of the *veto* upon the same principles. The *tiers-etat* opposed it because the upper chamber would consist of *noblesse*; and a party of the *noblesse* opposed it because they could not all become members of it. The debates on this occasion afford an opportunity to digress upon a subject of considerable importance throughout the whole of the revolution, the licence of applause or disapprobation granted to the galleries.

‘ At the first assembling of the states-general, the curiosity of the public to hear the debates was prodigious; and the *tiers-etat*, who of themselves first formed the national assembly, soon perceived the advantage which resulted to them from the presence of a numerous auditory in the galleries. They were not always sure of having the argument, but they were absolutely certain of having the galleries, on their side.

‘ At the beginning the audience ventured to applaud only; and as many members spoke more for the purpose of drawing a little applause than any other, the presence of strangers was rather agreeable than otherwise. But the strangers soon took the liberty of giving the most noisy proofs of their disapprobation as well as of their satisfaction. This was complained of by several members, but never remedied; and it was assumed as a right which belonged to the public, that as many of the people as the galleries could contain might always sit there. This right was supported by several of the deputies, and still more strenuously by the people themselves.

‘ While the national assembly remained at Versailles, the audience was not able fully to establish these claims. It was not until some time after the assembly was removed to the capital that they were exercised in their utmost latitude. Then indeed the audience became the arbiters of praise and censure; and the galleries of the national assembly were considered as the *nation*, as much as the pit at a London playhouse is considered as the *town*. The performers at both *theatres* are no doubt much at mercy of the audience—with this difference, however, that although what the British actor pronounces is liable to be damned, yet he himself is in no danger of being abused and insulted by the mob when he appears in the streets, as often happened to the unpopular orators of the national assembly.

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* In the progress of improvement, the French audience were not left to their own unbiassed judgment, but instructed what kind of doctrine they were to applaud, and what they were to condemn.

* As a matter of curiosity, it may not be improper to give some account of a manoeuvre which was of so much importance in the revolution, and which I received from those who were fully acquainted with the manner in which the galleries were disciplined, at the period when that kind of tactic was brought to the greatest perfection; and that there may be no need of returning to the subject, I shall insert it here, though not the precise part of this narrative in which, according to method, it should be placed.

* The galleries of the national assembly being open to people of every description, and filled by the first comers, it will be readily believed that, in a city such as Paris, nine-tenths of the audience were incapable of understanding the debates. Those parts of the speeches, therefore, which they most admired, and at which they thundered their loudest peals of applause, were not precisely what Longinus or Mr. Burke would have selected as examples of the sublime or beautiful. Every speaker, who had not the misfortune of being thought a royalist, who had a tolerably strong voice, who interspersed his discourse with abuse of aristocrats, emigrants, and sovereign princes; who made frequent allusion to the sovereignty of the people; and who, no matter how they were introduced, often pronounced with emphasis the words *La Nation, Liberté, and Egalité*, was certain of the applause of the galleries.

* Certain deputies of the court party having remarked the efficacy of these words, sometimes had the address to intermingle them so successfully with their harangues, as to draw loud applause from those who, if they had comprehended the tendency of the reasoning, would have hissed them without mercy.

* As the audience were so apt to be misled by their ears, it was thought proper to engage their eyes as an auxiliary to their understanding; and men were employed to throw out signals indicating whom and when they should applaud or censure.

* A member of the assembly was sometimes employed to make those signals, which were understood by only one or two persons in the galleries, who by a similar mode communicated their import to others.

* The usual signals were the handkerchief hanging half out of the pocket, sometimes out of the right, sometimes out of the left—the hat held in the hand in a particular manner, or with the national cockade uppermost—rubbing the eyes, or the nose, or the ear. All these had their particular meanings, with a variety of other signs which may be easily conceived; each of which denoted the nature of the explosion required, whether for approbation or disapprobation.

* To secure the majority it was necessary to have about a hundred and fifty persons in each of the two galleries. There were also one

leader and five subalterns in each gallery. The leaders only were acquainted with the signal from the hall. This they immediately communicated by a different one to the ten subalterns, who directly began their marks of applause or censure, in which they were followed by all the mercenaries whom they had previously engaged; and their loud clappings generally excited those of all the people in the galleries.

‘The common mercenaries were acquainted with the subalterns only, and precisely followed their example, whether they clapped or hooted. It was left to the subalterns to engage their followers; but they were often unacquainted with each other, and in confidential correspondence only with the leader, who informed them previous to every sitting of the signals they were to follow. The two leaders were not always known to each other, and both were entirely unacquainted with those who originally employed the person who gave signals from the hall.

‘The wages of the common followers were from forty sols to three livres each sitting. The subalterns were paid at the rate of ten livres, and the leaders at that of fifty.

‘When an important question was to be debated, the galleries were always in the pay of one party or the other; and sometimes each party had the usual number of their mercenaries on duty there; which never failed to occasion a great deal of noise, and a violent contest between the applauders and hooters.

‘It sometimes happened also, that a number of the common hirelings deceived the subalterns, and took money from those of both parties; in which case neither was well served, all was confusion and doubt, and the real sentiment of the *Peuple Souverain* seemed as ambiguous as the will of the gods announced by the oracle of Delphos.

‘From this account a pretty just estimate may be made of the value of the applause or censure of that portion of the sovereign people who were usually seated in the galleries of the national assembly after it was removed to the capital, and which continued to be one of the most powerful engines of the revolution until the time that Robespierre established the guillotine in lieu of all the rest.’ Vol. i. p. 419.

The remainder of this chapter relates to the memorable entertainment given to the gardes-du-corps at Versailles, which Dr. Moore conceives has been much misrepresented, and that the most objectionable events of this day were accidental. The consequences of that unfortunate affair were, however, not the less deplorable. The account of the reception of the king at Paris is followed by these reflections—

‘The French have been thought to possess such an affectionate and respectful attachment to their monarchs, as rendered them by
much

much the most loyal nation in Europe. No man was more of that opinion than the author of this narrative. The events of the present dreadful revolution afford cause of suspicion that this was at no time the case in reality so much as it was in appearance.

It will be still acknowledged, however, that no people ever displayed more attachment to the person, or more zeal for the glory, of their monarchs, whether they were of worthless characters like Henry III. or of benevolent ones like Lewis XVI. than the French have always done, as long as the monarch has had the address or good fortune to retain his power. While the power of the prince flourishes, the loyalty of the subject shines green as the laurel, and stands firm as a rock; but, when his power is in decay, their loyalty withers with it, and shakes like the poplar leaf.

The people of England have been accused by their neighbours of possessing but a very moderate portion of loyalty; and what little they have is said to be of a very cold and phlegmatic nature. James II. however was one of the most unpopular princes that ever sat on their throne: he provoked them to the highest degree, by perfidious designs against their liberty, and open attacks on their religion: yet when the sunshine of his prosperity was overcast with the blackest clouds of adversity; when his favourites, his relations, his very children, forsook him; and when, endeavouring to fly from the storm, he was stopped at Feversham, and brought back a prisoner to his capital; how was this ungracious king, thus overwhelmed with calamity, received by the English people? They were so much moved with compassion for his unhappy fate, so much affected with the sight of distressed royalty, that they forgot the king's misconduct by contemplating his misfortunes; the excess of his misery operated in his favour as if it had been virtue; and the dying embers of loyalty began to revive within their breasts, and to glow with more fervour than ever. This alarmed the prince of Orange; for although he could have formed no idea of such sensibility from any feelings of his own, yet the sympathy of the English nation did not escape his discernment: he began to dread that compassion for their unfortunate monarch would cool their gratitude to himself. He therefore immediately opened every door and port which could have opposed James's withdrawing from the kingdom, and made use of every art that could induce the insatuated monarch to adopt that measure. Such was the impression which the misfortune of James made on the hearts of the inhabitants of the southern part of this island. As for those of the north, so far was the attachment of his friends there from depending on his prosperity, that their steady, though ill-placed, loyalty never was more firm; nor were they ever more ready to shed their blood in his cause and that of his posterity, than after they were wretched exiles abandoned by all the rest of the world.

‘As there is much reason to believe, that the insurrection at Paris was begun by a set of wretches hired for the purpose; and as none of the democratic party had the means of so extensive a bribery except the duke of Orleans, it is pretty generally supposed that he was the first mover of the whole; and that he acted in conjunction with Mirabeau. Whatever truth there may be in the first supposition, there is great reason to think the second is ill founded.’ Vol. ii. p. 35.

In treating of the character of the duke of Orleans, Dr. Moore vindicates him from the suspicion of having meditated the assassination of the king at this time; and his reasons for holding this opinion seem well founded. He contends, likewise, that there was no co-operation between the duke and Mirabeau:—but for these matters we must refer the reader to the work itself.

After the severity exercised against the clergy, those who practised the profession of the law had no great reason to expect that much lenity would be shown to them. By one decree all the parliaments in the kingdom were suspended from their functions; and two days after, all titles of nobility and all distinction of orders were, by another decree, entirely abolished. The mention of these decrees is followed by a series of acute and interesting remarks on the respect paid or due to nobility, and on armorial bearings, and subjects connected with them. These are enlivened by an anecdote of a purse-proud taylor, which Dr. Moore applies with considerable felicity. This is one part of his work which probably will give equal offence to aristocrats and democrats; but we may nevertheless venture to recommend it as justly deserving the cool attention of both. In one assertion, however, all parties will agree. The abolition of titles ‘struck a general panic through the whole aristocracy of Europe, and created a band of as inveterate enemies to the revolution in every kingdom in Christendom as existed in France.’

Our author next proceeds to relate the ineffectual resistance made to these decrees—and notices the various publications which appeared both in England and France on the occasion, including Mr. Burke’s celebrated book, which, Dr. Moore observes, has made more admirers than proselytes: but if acting upon the principles of that book be a symptom of proselytism, surely never was any production of the pen more successful. This work is dismissed with a more brief notice than, in our opinion, it required. Its influence on the progress of the revolution was obviously too great, we should have supposed, to escape the attention of our author.—He condemns, with just severity, the publication of the Red Book, as a breach of confidence:

fidence: but it evidently was part of the secret plan to undermine the popularity of the king. The affair, however, was soon forgotten in the debates which were now excited upon the important question, in whom the power of making war ought to be vested. Mirabeau and Malouet, it may be remembered, spoke in favour of granting this power to the king; but the middle plan, proposed by Lameth, was adopted, which gave something to the king apparently, and nothing really.—In the account of the confederation-ceremony, the circumstances are so well known that we shall pass it over, not, however, without transcribing the concluding observation—

‘ Thus ended a ceremony which, notwithstanding the good intentions of many who took the oath, has been considered as the grandest and most extensive act of perjury that heaven and earth was ever witness to.’ Vol. ii. p. 166.

The manner of M. Necker’s retirement from the kingdom is finely contrasted with his former triumphal entry. Dr. Moore sums up his character in these words—

‘ In this manner was M. Necker obliged to fly from the country, where he had but a few months before been almost adored—a man whose exile a short time before had excited universal regret; who, although a protestant and a foreigner, had enjoyed the confidence of the nation more than any Roman catholic minister, who was also a native, ever had done: and, what makes the capricious fickleness of the French appear in a stronger point of view, is, that no change of system or political conduct on the part of M. Necker occasioned this sudden alteration of their opinion. Neither his fidelity nor his diligence was ever called in question; and there is strong reason for believing that his earnest wish and supreme ambition were to arrange the finances of France; to establish a government free from the tyranny of the old one, and which should guard with impartiality the liberties of the people and the dignity of the crown. The great error into which both he and the nation fell, but for which he was more excusable than the nation, was imagining that he had genius and talents to accomplish such an undertaking: for, however strange it may seem, nothing is more certain than that the public over-rated M. Necker’s abilities as much he himself did. But so many of mankind think highly of themselves without any other mortal to keep them in countenance, that the man who has an exalted notion of his own abilities, knowing that the world in general are of the same way of thinking, may be excused, although both he and the world are mistaken. M. Necker is accused of being ostentatious and vain; but if a man maintains perfect integrity towards the public, is benevolent towards individuals, fulfils the relative duties of life conscientiously, and strives to be useful to mankind, is it not ungenerous

generous to insist so much on his vanity? Would it not be fortunate for mankind, if many more of them had the same kind of vanity?

‘ The uprightness of men’s intentions seldom saves them from the enmity of those who think they have suffered by their measures. M. Necker has been abused by one party in France for attempting any alteration whatever in the government; and by another, for not pushing reformation much farther than he did; and that nation in general, after having ranked him among their ablest politicians and greatest ministers, seem now to consider him as little above the level of common bankers or comptrollers of finance.

‘ It has been observed, that great occasions and hazardous situations have a tendency to create and develop talents; and of course that times of revolution and important struggles in states are the most productive of great men. It is asserted by some, however, that this French revolution forms a contradiction to the general observation respecting the tendency of revolutions, inasmuch as, although it has occasioned a long and severe struggle, and given rise to very great crimes, yet it has not produced one man who can be with propriety called *great*, even allowing that wickedness did not preclude from the title.

‘ Without entering into that discussion, it must be acknowledged that, if the French revolution has not given rise to any great men, it has had an effect more extraordinary and unexpected; having entirely overset and annihilated the greatness of more men than any other revolution ever did. To enumerate instances would be equally superfluous and invidious; as, without including the great men of France itself whom the revolution has converted into little men, the recollection of every reader at all acquainted with the modern history of Europe, must furnish instances of generals as well as of statesmen, who were supposed to have secured ample and conspicuous places in the gallery of fame, but whose greatness has dwindled so wonderfully in the course of this revolution, that it is now generally believed they will be exhibited only as miniatures. So that, in the loss of the admiration he at one time possessed, M. Necker has many fellow-sufferers.

‘ Except the clergy, no set of men have been treated with so much severity by the French since the revolution as their ministers of state. It would seem as if that people had conceived a rancour against all who presumed to govern either their souls or bodies. In this, as in many other particulars, their conduct is the reverse of the English, who have always behaved to their clergy with the respect due to their characters and sacred functions; have on all occasions heaped riches and honours on those statesmen, whose fortunate or wise administration has rendered the country prosperous; and in many instances have behaved to those who from negligence or error have involved it in distress, with a degree of patience and forbearance which astonishes all other nations.’ Vol. ii. p. 183.

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The subsequent account of the clergy who refused the constitutional oath includes a very ingenious defence of that body of men. We do not mean that it will appear perfectly satisfactory: but it is perhaps the best that can be made for men of whose motives we can judge only from their public conduct. Having occasion to advert to the English revolution in 1688, Dr. Moore speaks of the 'five bishops sent to the Tower.' Their number was *seven*, six bishops and the primæ.—The death of Mirabeau, at a very critical period, affords an opportunity to delineate his extraordinary and complicated character, which Dr. Moore has executed in a masterly manner; but we are not of opinion, that, had his life been preserved, he could have prevented the subsequent horrors of the Jacobinical faction; we are more inclined to think that he would have fled, or temporised with Sieyès. It is certain that he foresaw the decline of monarchy.

Having related the various events which preceded and followed the king's attempt to go to St. Cloud, Dr. Moore digresses at considerable length on the different conduct of men to monarchs in prosperity and adversity, and on the indignation formerly manifested by the French nation against the English for their conduct towards their kings. These observations end in a supposed dialogue between Lewis XIV. and one of his courtiers, on the acknowledgment of James II. which we shall transcribe as a favourable specimen of our author's lively manner—

'LEWIS. Notwithstanding that Beauvilliers, De Torci, and others of my council, were against the measure, I have acknowledged the son of James II. as king of Great Britain and Ireland; and I am determined to re-establish him on the throne of his ancestors, in spite of the decrees of his rebellious subjects in parliament assembled.

'COURTIER. The determination is magnanimous, and worthy of so great a monarch. It is at once just and politic; for the shocking manner in which that ungovernable people have treated their kings is a most alarming example to all the sovereigns of Europe, and it would be dangerous to allow it to remain any longer unpunished.

'LEWIS. The cause of kings is the cause of heaven, by whose appointment kings reign; and the vengeance of heaven evidently followed all those wretches who resisted the power of Charles I. in that island, as well as those who afterwards brought him to the scaffold. I have been assured that all of them died violent deaths. You perhaps remember the particulars.

'COURTIER. The avenging power of heaven was never more apparent, as your majesty piously observes, than in the deaths of all who directly or indirectly contributed to that blessed king's murder.

Hamden

Hampden was killed in the very act of rebellion. Pym died of a horrid disease, particularly commissioned to cut him off. The soul of Cromwell was carried to hell in a storm. The regicides and others had their hearts and bowels torn out on the scaffold. Those of the king's judges who fled out of England were privately put to death in other countries by the laudable resentment of the king's relations. Sydney, the republican, who had taken part in the rebellion against Charles. I. was executed for a plot against his son. Russel, who, to the disgrace of the noble family to which he belonged, was for limiting the power of the crown so as to render it unsupportable to a prince of spirit, and had the insolence to promote a bill for excluding the lawful heir because he professed the true religion, was justly beheaded; and Essex, who was engaged in the same conspiracy with Sydney and Russel, either cut his own throat or had it cut by others: for in either case your majesty's observation is confirmed, that the vengeance of heaven in one way or another extends to all those daring wretches who oppose the authority of their sovereign on any pretext whatever, as kings are not accountable for the exercise of the power which God has given them, to any but to God alone.

‘LEWIS. It is singular, however, that in placing the prince of Orange on their throne, the English have not consigned that degree of power to him which naturally ought to belong to a king. He is limited, I understand, in some respects according to the system which Russel wished to have applied to the duke of York.

‘COURTIER. Your majesty's remark is of infinite importance; for, in thus limiting the power of the crown, the English nation have established a precedent which may affect the other monarchies in Europe more than even the atrocious conduct of Cromwell; because many men who would shrink from the very idea of the murder of their sovereign, and are averse to a republic, may nevertheless be so deluded, that they would agree to have the lustre of the crown diminished by circumscribing the power of the prince who wears it. I am confident that your majesty will be so completely successful in the just war that you intend to engage in against the English nation, or rather against the principles and government of that nation, as to expel the present usurper, and re-establish king James in the plenitude of royal power. But if, contrary to probability, that should be found too difficult or too expensive, and there were no more hopes for James, it would then perhaps be highly suitable to your majesty's wisdom to assist William himself in obtaining that fullness of power over his subjects that becomes a king; that the dangerous and odious example of a limited monarchy may no longer shock the sight of the monarchs, and corrupt the hearts of the people, of every nation in Europe.

‘LEWIS. The name of the prince of Orange has been always odious to me. I shall assist *him* in nothing: but I am resolved that James shall be restored to the throne of England with all the power that

that was possessed by Henry VIII. and with the re-establishment of the true religion which that aristate abolished.

‘Accordingly Lewis made the attempt; and we know that it was not till all his expensive and sanguinary efforts to overturn the government and change the opinions of the people of England had failed, and had nearly exhausted the resources and shaken the loyalty of his own subjects, that the English nation obtained peace, and were permitted to entertain their own opinions, and settle their government to their own taste.’ Vol. ii. p. 259.

The remarks which follow, on the absurdity of conquering opinions by the sword, are not more just than seasonable.

The account given of the king's celebrated letter to the national assembly, in which he informed them that he had transmitted to all the French ambassadors, &c. his genuine sentiments respecting the revolution, ‘is given upon the authority of one whose situation enabled him to be acquainted with the whole, and whose veracity may be depended upon.’ But the length to which we have already extended this article compels us to refer to the work itself. Amidst such a variety of matter, we have been anxious to select such parts chiefly as unfold the plan and intention of the work, and shall conclude with the account given of a meditated plan of escape, which never took place, — with the author's observations.

‘The king's friends were more alarmed than ever for his safety, and that of the royal family. Another attempt to escape from the capital, and out of the reach of his enemies, was thought necessary at any risk. The following plan for that purpose was formed by a person faithfully attached to the king, and who had held a high office under the constitution. The king and royal family were to go to Gaillon, a villa belonging to the archbishop of Rouen, situated within three leagues of that city, and twenty leagues from Paris, the precise distance allowed by the constitution. They were to go out of the Tuileries through the hotel of the intendant of the civil list, the communication of which with the palace was only separated by a wooden partition easily removed, and guarded by a single sentinel, who was to be secured. The principal entry to this hotel was from the court of the Old Louvre, where two or three coaches were usually seen about eleven or twelve at night, belonging to those who supped with the intendant. On the night designed for the king's escape nobody was to be invited; but two common coaches were to be ready for the reception of the royal family, with no attendant except one maid, and two confidential persons dressed like footmen, one behind each carriage. They were to go out of Paris at the usual hour that those who lived in the neighbourhood and supped in town returned to their houses. The three thousand Swiss whom the king had been obliged by a decree to send out of

the capital, were to be distributed at different stations on the road from Paris to Pontoise. The king's horse guards, who had been lately reduced, and still resided in the capital, the gallant count d'Hervilly their former commander, to whom they were greatly attached, engaged to have all ready at twelve hours previous notice. Their horses were in the stables at Versailles, which they were to have broken into on the night appointed, and to have met the king within a league of Paris, and accompanied him to Pontoise, where they were sure of finding two regiments of Swiss, which with the three thousand above mentioned, and the six hundred horse guards under d'Hervilly, would have formed a body of troops sufficient for the protection of the royal family for some time at least. The king was to have wrote from Gaillon to the assembly, to inform them of the motives of his departure; and if they should have marched an army to attack him, he was to have removed to Fecamp on the sea-coast, where the commissary of the marine would have ordered a vessel for the reception of the royal family, to be entirely at the king's disposal, and to transport them wherever he should direct. M. le Fort, an intelligent general officer, had set out from Paris at the end of July for Normandy, on purpose to examine Gaillon, its environs, and the coast; and to sound the disposition of the inhabitants. He returned on the fifth of August with a report favourable for the enterprise. The departure of the royal family was to have taken place on the night of the seventh of August; every thing was in great forwardness for the execution; the utmost secrecy had been preserved; but the queen, independent of the impression which the ill success of their former attempt had made on her mind, felt an additional repugnance to the enterprise, because the commanding officer of the troops in Normandy was a constitutional deputy. And although there was no doubt of that nobleman's zeal in protecting the royal family on the present occasion, and of his desire to support the constitution against the Jacobins and Girondists, yet the circumstance above-mentioned rendered her more and more averse to the scheme, as the moment of its execution drew nearer. On the evening of the sixth, she prevailed on the king to send a message to the person who had the chief direction of the enterprise to suspend his preparations, because her majesty thought the measure should not be adopted until the last extremity—little imagining, unfortunate princess! that the last extremity was already arrived, and that she would never have another opportunity.

‘It was imagined that the inevitable consequence of the king's escape would have been involving the nation in a civil war, and other calamities. But what calamities could have been greater than those which have actually taken place? Every person of common humanity in Europe, therefore, whatever may be their sentiments respecting the French revolution in other respects, will lament that

the escape of the royal family of France was not effected at this time. Above all, France herself has cause to lament it, as it would have saved her from the deepest stigma that ever was fixed on a nation.

‘ Is the rejection of this plan of escape to be considered now as unfortunate for the three persons who were most interested in its success at the time, and have been since cut off—one of them by a sentence directly in opposition to the constitution adopted and sworn to by his judges—the other two by the most wanton, unmanly, and detestable exercise of tyranny, that ever revolted the soul of humanity.

‘ The murder of the queen and princess seems so completely without provocation, view of interest, or meaning, as would almost tempt us to think that men may by a diabolical perversion of nature, from habitual crimes come at last to love wickedness for its own sake, and find in vice its own reward.

‘ That those three eminent persons failed in accomplishing their escape, will assuredly not be thought unfortunate for their fame in this world; and it is devoutly to be believed that it will contribute to their everlasting reward in the next.

‘ Had they completed their escape, the king would not have had an opportunity of displaying that firmness of mind and reach of understanding which appeared on his trial; nor would he in his last will have had occasion to exhibit a degree of Christian resignation which equals, and a delicacy and tenderness of sentiment which surpasses, any thing recorded of the most celebrated martyrs of the Roman church.

‘ And the queen would have had no opportunity of exhibiting that undisturbed circumspection and presence of mind discernible in her answers to the most captious and insidious interrogatories; particularly when, on the judge expressing surprise at her not knowing a person to whom she had rendered great services, she calmly replied, “ It is possible for those who confer favours to forget them; while those on whom they are conferred find it *impossible*.”

And also, when having disdained to take any notice of a brutal charge which was brought against her, on its being repeated she repelled the monstrous accusation by an appeal to human nature, as it exists in the hearts of mothers. Indeed, the whole of her conduct from the moment of her confinement tends to render many of those tales which slander circulated to her prejudice with such avidity, absolutely incredible; and the attachment, the affection, the fidelity and dignity, which in the most trying scenes she manifested to her husband, her children, her friends, and her enemies, throw back a lustre on the imperial line from which she sprung, brighter than that which she derived from it.

‘ This cruel arrest likewise afforded the princess Elizabeth the means of proving before a tribunal of atheists what a degree of com-
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posure religion can communicate to a mind naturally timid, and to what elevation it can raise a mind naturally unassuming. Disdaining any concession which might soften their cruelty, and despising the wrath which she knew her answer would excite, to the first interrogatory of the court, What is your name? she greatly replied; "My name is Elizabeth of France, sister to the monarch you murdered, and aunt to your present king." Vol. II. p. 495.

The Journals published by Dr. Moore commence from the conclusion of the present period, and, although they are not written with the same view, may be considered as forming a connected account of the rise and progress of this wonderful revolution. In the present work, the author assumes the character of a philosopher rather than an annalist, and by weighing, comparing, and judging of certain leading facts, deduces inferences of the highest importance to the welfare of mankind. His sentiments are therefore moderate, and always inclining to the constitution of Great Britain; but he is no where desirous of concealing its defects, nor of softening those prejudices which of late have too much assimilated our situation to that of monarchical France. From the peculiar liveliness of manner, and striking contrasts of sentiment and incident, this work will afford a considerable portion of entertainment as well as information. The principal events, indeed, have long been before the public in a variety of shapes, and much novelty was not to be expected. What, however, a sound judgment and engaging talents of communication can perform, has been performed with success; and they who have reaped amusement and instruction from Dr. Moore's former works, will not be disappointed by the present.

The Description of Corsica, with an Account of its Union to the Crown of Great Britain. Including the Life of General Paoli, and the Memorial presented to the National Assembly of France, upon the Forests in that Island. With a Plan highly beneficial to both States, illustrated with a Map of Corsica. By Frederick, Son of the late Theodore, King of Corsica. 8vo. 4s. Robinsons. 1795.

THE accession of Corsica to the crown of Great Britain having been held out to the public as an acquisition of great importance, its history naturally becomes an object of curiosity. Colonel Frederick, the author of this work, by his former residence in that country and the interest his family once possessed in it, seems not unqualified to afford the information necessary to enable us to form an opinion of its value. The general result from this volume is that they who
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consider it as of little use to this country, argue from its present state; and they who hold it out as an object of importance, advert to the possibility of improving it.

Corsica is about one hundred and fifty miles in length, fifty in breadth, and three hundred and twenty in circumference. Its inhabitants do not exceed one hundred and twenty thousand. The country is mountainous and rocky, the *climate temperate*, the soil fertile, but the air unhealthy—in some parts, we conceive our author means, otherwise there is an inconsistency in the expressions. It contains immense forests of oak, pines, fir, beech, &c. The oak is used by the Genoese and French in ship-building. Its productions are wine, oil, corn, legumes, wax, honey, and various fruits of the delicious kind. The silk worm affords the material of which the Genoese fabricate the greatest part of their damasks and velvets. The French also use a great quantity in their manufactures at Lyons. The island abounds in rivers, springs, and rivulets, which enrich the vallies, and render them fit for a more extensive population: the waters are palatable and wholesome. There are mines of iron, lead, copper, and silver, quarries of marble of different colours, and beds of salt-petre. The lands are capable of great improvement, and already feed great quantities of cattle.

The island, however, has suffered greatly by depopulation. There are now only nine towns; but the whole coast is well provided with harbours. Bastia, the largest town, contains about five thousand inhabitants, and, including its district, 28,841; Ajaccio, the next in size, about 21,246 inhabitants. There are five bishoprics, and Corsica swarms with priests and monks, of whom col. Frederick does not speak with the greatest respect. He adds, that this kingdom has always been miserably poor, never having been able to supply the necessary expences for its civil and military establishments, and *having always proved a dead weight on the different sovereigns who have possessed it*. The people, however, have always been inclined to resist oppression; and the 'History of the Revolution' of Corsica affords many proofs of a bold and independent spirit. In this part of the work we find the character of Paoli delineated with the freedom of one who has not forgot that he is the son of a dethroned king.

His Christian name is Pasqual, and Giacinto was that of his father. Giacinto Paoli was created marquis, by king Theodore, who appointed him afterwards his high treasurer, and on that monarch's departure from Corsica was a member of the regency. Pasqual Paoli was educated at Naples under the Jesuits. He made a great progress in the different branches of polite literature, as well

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as in their system of politics, learning with avidity the latent precepts of advancing in life, and the art of managing men's tempers and passions. He was active and sober, never indulging idleness, or abandoning himself to the gross pleasures of sensuality, which not only enervate the vigor and the strength of the body, but blunt the acuteness of every faculty of the mind; with these singular advantages and a great sagacity and penetration, Paoli from Naples went to Corsica among rude and uncouth people, who were strangers to those mental embellishments, and to political intrigues, but who were cut out for the executive business of war, and wholly given to recover their liberty by a stubborn courage. He officiated at first as secretary to doctor Caffori, a physician, and his kinsman, who was at the head of the malcontents. Caffori was assassinated, and Paoli strove to attain the high post which the deceased had occupied. But he met with a powerful opponent in the person of signor Matra, who being a man of noble sentiments, a true lover of his country and a brave and experienced warrior, thought himself entitled to mount to a degree of eminence above the rest, and have the command of his armed countrymen preferably to Paoli. Force, and not the number of votes, was to decide the contest. The two parties armed their respective partizans and came to blows. The Paolists were defeated; and Paoli thinking himself in danger of his life, took sanctuary in a convent together with some of his friends, where they were closely blockaded. But Matra met with the same fate as Caffori, and his tragical death was an object of triumph and joy to Paoli, who being now released from fear, rushed out of the convent, set at work all the engines of his politics, and by plausible speeches and ample promises prevailed upon the multitude to chuse him for their general.

He now had the sole government of their civil and military affairs, and gained such an ascendancy and dominion over them, that they implicitly assented to every thing he proposed, abandoning the care of their most important concerns to his discretion, and magnifying him as a man of the greatest trust and command.

Paoli's patrimony was but slender: it consisted in a house and a garden which he had at Rostino, where he was born. The Corsicans plentifully supplied him with what he wanted, and raised that provision by an annual tax, which was called *il pane del generale*, the general's bread.

As he was not trained up to arms, a profession of an indispensable necessity to a man who is engaged in military enterprises, he could not possibly drive the Genoese out of Corsica. These, nevertheless, despairing to subdue them, in the year 1768, resigned the sovereignty of that island to Louis XV. king of France, who paid to that republic forty millions of livres for it. Besides that sum, the expences annually incurred for the support of its civil and military establishments, have amounted to nine hundred thousand livres, as it

it is stated in the annexed memoirs which were presented to the French national assembly in the year 1790, on the exploitation or felling of the woods in that island; a plan calculated to relieve the French treasury of those expences, create an income, without imposing any tax on the inhabitants, and promote industry and occupation among the common people.

‘ Paoli did not seem dismayed by this cession; on the contrary, he animated the Corsicans to persevere in the defence of their liberty, which, including every other blessing, is therefore the only thing worth contending for to the last; and he promised to stand by, or fall with them.

‘ This heroic resolution being spread about all over Italy, and afterwards all over Europe, gained him the esteem and good wishes of every lover of humanity, and the assistance of the wealthy, who supplied him with arms, ammunition, and money. On that occasion Buttafuoco, and Colonna, two Corsican gentlemen who had served with distinction in the Corsican regiment in the service of France, and likewise the author of this narrative, who had made several campaigns under the most experienced generals of the age, and had seen a variety of war, offered to join Paoli in so glorious a cause; but he rejected their offer. Mighty doings were expected from his valour and conduct, particularly here in England, where he was styled the Corsican Timoleon.

‘ But Paoli did not fulfil his promises to the Corsicans, nor justify the general opinion which had been entertained of him. At the appearance of the French troops, he stole away in the hour of danger, abandoning his countrymen as a prey to their enemies, and took with him the donations which had been so liberally subscribed here in London under the direction and trust of alderman Beckford, alderman Trecothick, and Samuel Vaughan, esq. for the relief of those brave defenders of their liberty; which donations he had received but three days before his precipitate retreat. This action brought upon him the odium of every man of honourable sentiments, and the indignation of those gentlemen. But on his arrival in London, his submissive letters, friendly interpositions in behalf of the penitent, and their humane disposition, converted indignation into mercy.

‘ Notwithstanding these heavy charges, which must have been unknown at St. James’s, or looked upon as calumnious, Paoli was presented to the king, was graciously received, and gratified with a large pension. He obtained, besides, a provision for signor Clemente, his brother, another for signor Barbaggio, his nephew, and for several others who had followed his fortune.

‘ These distinguished marks of royal favour operated as his regeneration, wiping off the odium of his flight, and reconciling him to the Corsicans, who now took that flight for a political manoeuvre, and a preconcerted plan with the English government; and they

were given to understand, that the king being the representative of a free nation, would at a proper time espouse their cause, enable them to shake off the yoke of an arbitrary prince, and to become an independent commonwealth, which though a poor one, they preferred it to a golden servitude, as fetters of gold are fetters still; Paoli therefore bid them to be of good heart, and kept alive in them the divine flame of liberty.

But by little and little he abandoned the republican principles, and became a devotee to kingly government; insomuch, that when the present most sudden, most unexpected, and most astonishing revolution broke out in France, and that nation overturned the royal throne, declared themselves a free people, inspired the surrounding nations with the same sentiments, gave liberty to Corsica, and affiliated her as one of the sections, Paoli shewed a great concern at this change in his country. As soon as, however, the emotions of his mind subsided, he wrote a letter to his countrymen, which appeared in the newspapers, congratulating them on the recovery of their liberty, but lamenting that as Corsica, nevertheless, made part of France, he could not join them consistently with the principles of gratitude, and his attachment to the English nation, from whom he had long received, and was actually receiving great favours.

Sometime after he left England, went to Paris, pleaded and obtained his pardon, pronounced an oration at the bar of the assembly; in which he said, that after a painful exile of twenty years, he felt it now the happiest moment of his life to see liberty restored to his country by the generosity of the French nation, and expressed his earnest desire and readiness to contribute, as far as it was in his power, to the happiness of his fellow-citizens. These sentiments being the noblest that ever animated the human heart, were highly pleasing to the national assembly, and met with an universal applause. Accordingly he took the oath of fidelity, was reinstated to his former command, and embarked for his native country, where he was received with the strongest marks of acclamation. And now it was thought that Corsica, after being tossed up and down, like a ship in the wide sea, by tempestuous weather, having now happily reached a good port, would rest enjoying a serene calm, and no more venture on desperate enterprises. But the contrary happened; Paoli began to undermine the established form of government, and to poison the mind of the people against the French nation.

The convention being informed of his secret practices, and of each particular of his designs, ordered him to appear at their bar, and exhibit himself to justice on what had been alleged against him. Age and infirmities were the reasons he gave that he might be dispensed from appearing; and he accompanied these reasons with assurances that he would never be defective to his duty. But he still going on in caballing, was summoned again, and as he peremptorily refused to obey, (thinking himself safe at Corte, an inland town of
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very difficult access, situated in the centre of the isle) the convention declared him a traitor, and set a price upon his head.' P. 30.

The subsequent account of the surrender of the island to his Britannic majesty's officers is compiled chiefly from the information given in the Gazette, including the new constitution, of which the circumstance most to be remarked is its preponderance to a democracy.

The Memorial presented to the national assembly of France upon the forests will be found abundantly interesting to those who, retaining the possession of the island, wish to advance its improvement. The cultivation of waste lands in all countries would be a measure of great wisdom.

This useful work is illustrated by a map of the island; neatly engraved; and prefixed to it is the following dedication to his majesty.

‘ TO THE KING,

‘ Permit me to lay before your majesty the Description of Corsica, a kingdom to which the late king Theodore had the best of rights by the unsolicited invitation, and voluntary submission of the people, his salutary laws, and the manner, truly paternal, he governed them. But his virtues found a strong adversary in the times. Several sovereigns leagued against him, and a disgraceful dungeon, in this very metropolis, was his reward.

‘ May your majesty's reign over the Corsicans be permanent, and peaceable, and may the British flag ride for ever triumphant in those seas by this new acquisition. These were the views of that sacrificed monarch. These are the wishes of him, who is, with the greatest veneration,

Your majesty's
most obedient,
most devoted, and
most humble servant,
FREDERICK,
Son of the late Theodore, king of Corsica.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

POLITICAL.

The Citizen. Being the Great Outline of Political Science; and a Defence of the British Constitution, from the Writings of Montesquieu, Blackstone, Hume, Paley, Gibbon, &c. 2 Parts. 8vo, 4s. Robinsons. 1794.

This compilation is intended to counteract the effects of the wild republican theories which have lately been artfully circulated among the common people. The attempt at least is fair; but the execution of the plan is not such as in every respect meets our approbation. In defending monarchy, for instance, we would not tell the people that 'virtue is not essential to a monarchical government,' or that 'in monarchies policy effects great things with as little virtue as possible.' Nor can we agree with our author in saying that 'laws supply the place of the love of our country, the thirst of true glory, self-denial, the sacrifice of our dearest interests, and all those heroic virtues which we admire in the ancients, and to us are known only by story.' He leans indeed, throughout, too much to the monstrous position advanced by some late writers, that corruption not only exists but is necessary in our government. With these exceptions, this compilation may be read with advantage. The author is not intemperate, and, with the assistance mentioned in the title-page, cannot be supposed ill informed. It would, however, not be doing justice to his labours if we did not conclude this brief notice of the work by a specimen of the general manner in which he discusses a subject of some curiosity and importance.

' THE EFFECTS OF MONARCHY ON THE NATIONAL CHARACTER.

' In monarchies our character is not formed in colleges or academies.—It commences, in some measure, at our setting out in the world; for this is the school of what we call honour, that universal preceptor which ought every where to be our guide.

' In our days we receive three different or contrary educations, namely, of our parents, of our masters, and of the world.—What we learn in the latter, effaces all the ideas of the former.

' There it is that we constantly hear these rules or maxims, viz. that we should have a certain nobleness in our virtues, a kind of frankness in our morals, and a particular politeness in our behaviour.

' The virtues we are here taught are not so much what draws us towards society, as what distinguishes us from our fellow citizens.

' Here the actions of men are judged, not as virtuous, but as shining; not as just, but as great.

' Here gallant y is allowed, when united with the idea of sensible

able affection; this is the reason why we never meet with so strict a purity of morals in monarchies, as in republican governments.

‘ It allows of *cunning and craft*, when joined with the notion of *greatness of soul, or importance of affairs*; as, for instance, in politics, with whose finesses it is far from being offended.

‘ It does not forbid *adulation*, but when *separate* from the idea of a large fortune, and *connected only* with the sense of our mean condition.

‘ With regard to *morals*, the education of monarchies admits of a certain *frankness and open carriage*.—*Truth therefore in conversation is here a necessary point*.—But is it for the *sake of truth*? by no means.—*Truth is requisite*—only, because a person habituated to *veracity*—has an air of freedom, and acquires our confidence.—And indeed a man of *this stamp* seems to lay less stress on the *thing itself*, than on the *manner* in which he will be received.

‘ Hence it is, that in proportion as this kind of frankness is commended, that of the common people is despised, which has nothing but truth and simplicity for its object.

‘ In fine, the education of monarchies requires a certain politeness of behaviour.—Man, a sociable animal, is formed to please in society; and a person that would break through the rules of decency, so as to shock those he conversed with, would lose the *public esteem*, and become incapable of doing any good.

‘ BUT POLITENESS, GENERALLY SPEAKING, DOES NOT DERIVE ITS ORIGINAL FROM SO PURE A SOURCE.—IT RISES FROM A DESIRE OF DISTINGUISHING OURSELVES.—IT IS PRIDE THAT RENDERS US POLITE: WE ARE FLATTERED WITH BEING TAKEN NOTICE OF FOR A BEHAVIOUR THAT SHEWS WE ARE NOT OF A MEAN CONDITION, AND THAT WE HAVE NOT BEEN BRED UP WITH THOSE WHO IN ALL AGES ARE CONSIDERED AS THE SCUM OF THE PEOPLE.

‘ *Politeness*, in monarchies, is *naturalised at court*.—Hence that politeness, equally pleasing to those *by whom*, as to those *towards whom*, it is practised; because it gives people to understand that a person *actually belongs*, or at least *deserves to belong to*—the court.

‘ A court air consists in quitting a *real* for a *borrowed greatness*.—The latter pleases the courtier more than the former.—It inspires him with a certain *disdainful modesty*, which shews itself externally, but whose pride insensibly diminishes in proportion to its distance from the source of this greatness.

‘ At court we find a delicacy of taste in every thing, a delicacy arising from the constant use of the superfluities of life, from the variety, and especially the satiety of pleasures,—from the multiplicity and even confusion of families, which, if they are but agreeable, are sure of being well received.

‘ Here it is that *HONOUR* interferes with every thing, mixing

even with people's manner of thinking, and directing their very principles.

' To this whimsical honour it is owing that the virtues are only just what it pleases; it adds rules of its own invention to every thing prescribed to us; it extends or limits our duties according to its own fancy, whether they proceed from religion, politics, or morality.

' There is nothing so strongly inculcated in monarchies, by the laws, by religion, and honour, as submission to the prince's will; but this very honour tells us, that the prince never ought to command a dishonourable action, because this would render us incapable of serving him.

' Crillon refused to assassinate the duke of Guise, but offered to fight him. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Charles IX. having sent orders to the governors in the several provinces for the Hugonots to be murdered, viscount Dorte, who commanded at Bayonae, wrote thus to the king, "SIRE, AMONG THE INHABITANTS OF THIS TOWN, AND YOUR MAJESTY'S TROOPS, I COULD NOT FIND SO MUCH AS ONE EXECUTIONER; THEY ARE HONEST CITIZENS AND BRAVE SOLDIERS.—WE JOINTLY THEREFORE BESEECH YOUR MAJESTY TO COMMAND OUR ARMS AND LIVES IN THINGS THAT ARE PRACTICABLE."—This great and generous soul looked upon a base action as a thing impossible.

' There is nothing that honour more strongly recommends to the nobility, than to serve their prince in a military capacity.—Yet this very law of its own making, honour chooses to explain; and in case of any affront, it requires, or permits us to retire.

' Honour therefore has its supreme laws, to which education is obliged to conform.—The chief of these are, that we are permitted to set a value upon our fortune, but are absolutely forbidden to set any upon our lives.

' The second is, that when we are raised to a post or preferment, we should never do or permit any thing which may seem to imply that we look upon ourselves as inferior to the rank we hold.

' The third is, that those things which honour forbids are more rigorously forbidden, when the laws do not concur in the prohibition; and those it commands are more strongly insisted upon, when they happen not to be commanded by law.' P. 85.

Argument on the French Revolution, and the Means of Peace. By David Hartley, Esq. 8vo. 1s. 6l. Debrett. 1794.

Mr. Hartley is a veteran in patriotism; and every man who recollects the glorious stand which was made by him in conjunction with those truly great men, the marquis of Rockingham and sir George Saville, against the insatiation of the American war, will receive with respect, and even with some avidity, a declaration of his sentiments on the present interesting crisis. Mr. Hartley appears to

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be a whig of the old stamp, and a true friend to the British constitution.—Yet he is of opinion that we have no right to interfere in the affairs of France,—that we should immediately negotiate; and leave the French to make experiments on the theory of government, while we remain content with our own.

The following is a fair sketch of the old government of France—

‘ That the principles of the late government of France were inconsistent with the laws of God and the rights of man, has been equally acknowledged, by the democrat, the aristocrat, and the late unfortunate monarch himself. Under the term of monarchy is included not only the prerogative persons of the monarch, and of those of the royal blood, but in the next degree to them, an aristocratical and tyrannous nobility, supporting and supported by the throne; and jointly forming a combined system of despotism, to the debasement and destruction of all other ranks in human society.

‘ The instruments of this tyranny have been—

‘ An irresistible military standing force.

‘ An absolute command of the public purse by royal edict of taxation, requiring not even the appearance of popular assent beyond the insulting claim of compulsive registration.

‘ The unconditional patronage of all offices of public trust, honour, or emolument, military and civil, together with an unbounded list of secondary ministerial offices of oppression.

‘ The immense patronage of ecclesiastical preferments, secular and regular.

‘ Feudal superiorities, with monopolizing and all-grasping entails, possessed by an oppressive nobility, entrenched within their own impregnable castles and forest laws; and insolently exempt from the common burdens of the state, in proportion to the extent of those feudal and territorial monopolies.

‘ The multitudinous and inferior ranks of society torn from their families and the little comforts of their humble estate; devoted to the slaughter of war, to become the victims of the ambition, speculation, extravagance, pride, and cruelty of that nobility, who disdained to consider them as fellow-subjects, or even as fellow-creatures; while they were themselves monopolizing, in the monarch’s court, all the rights of man, in the boundless expence of a civil list, more than adequate to the support of the national dignity, foreign and domestic.

‘ All public roads infested with a *marechaussée* and barriers of inquisition, who passes — from whence — to what place—and for what reasons, public, private, or personal.

‘ All correspondence of letters subject to the dominion of the posts.

‘ All communication of thoughts by the press, whether philosophical, moral, civil, political, or religious, equally enthralled by public examination and conditional licence.

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‘ An inquisitorial police invading the secret recesses and domestic privacies of the most wretched and helpless indigents.

‘ A monarchical distribution of pretended justice, under the hand of power, and through the instrumentality of dependent and venal judges, uncontrolled by the restrictive verdict of impartial juries.

‘ A metropolis harrowed and subdued by the perpetual terrors and dungeons of a bastille, the horrid cemetery of the living; their only *Habeas Corpus*, either for life or death, being a *lettre de cachet*.

‘ Revengeful and inhuman cruelties in criminal prosecutions by rack and torture—with ferocious public executions, more horrid even than any possible human crimes.

‘ The French monarchy under the reign of despots has been the universal enemy of mankind, in whole centuries of foreign and desolating wars, excited by the ambition of conquest, for the purpose of ravaging the properties, and destroying the lives and liberties of mankind. Such has been hitherto the persevering system of the late government of France for some centuries past, and such have been the unexaggerated effects of it. This enormity of despotism, for 1400 years, has at length produced the total subversion of that intolerable constitution of tyranny, to which the principles of the American revolution (adopted for different and opposite views by the court, and by the nation of France), have marshalled the way. The revolution of France is now become the most signal and important event in the history of mankind; and in its consequences will affect all future civil establishments among nations.’ P. 10.

Is it for the restoration of this system and of the Popish religion, that we are now at war?

A Calm Address to the People of Great Britain. By a Citizen of London. 8vo. 1s. Rivingtons. 1795.

A few short extracts will give a better idea of this pamphlet than any character we can draw up.

‘ In the present situation of public affairs, when the LOWER ORDERS of the community have (either from a mistaken notion of the excellency of the LAWS and CONSTITUTION under which they live, or from motives not altogether innocent) caused some disturbances to the peace and tranquillity of the nation, it becomes the duty of every WELL WISHER of his country to endeavour (in times like the present) to inform the ONE, and reclaim the OTHER, for the preservation of our happy constitution, for which the blood of our ancestors was spilled to procure and establish.’ P. 1.

‘ The three branches of parliament, viz. king, lords and commons, form the constitution, together with their distinct functions, and of their dependence and independence on each other.’ P. 2.

These, our readers will perceive, are given as specimens of style chiefly; and what follow are specimens both of style and sentiment.

‘ Civil

‘ Civil liberty in an abstracted sense (*quere, distracted?*) may be compared to a leaky vessel, as the farther it proceeds, the greater the danger of its sinking increases.’ P. 5.—‘ Civil liberty does not seem to have arrived to its *present* state of perfection till the revolution, *nor indeed then.*’ *ibid.*—‘ The king is one of the branches of the legislature, *by whom* all bills, after having passed the two houses of parliament, must receive *his assent.*’ P. 8.—‘ Every act which passes the legislature operates equally on the rich as on the inferior subjects, and *equally bear* their proportionate part of the public taxes.’ P. 12.

‘ Has not their (the French) unbounded and unparalleled wickedness caused thousands of their natives to *emigrate their own country*, to seek an asylum on the British shores? This is an assertion which I can verify from ocular demonstration.’ P. 23.

These and many other equally important and *perspicuous* remarks are followed by a plan for a more equal representation of the people, in which the author means more than he can express.

An Exposition of the Hair-Powder Act, setting forth its Legal Operation; with a full Abstract of the Act. By a Barrister. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Robinsons. 1795.

It has been remarked by a very high legal character in a certain august house, that the acts of parliament have of late years been drawn up with uncommon marks of haste and negligence, if not of something worse. The act in question is a proof of this assertion, as it appears from the pamphlet before us, that all *minors* and *married women* are exempt from the tax. Our author points out some other defects in the act of parliament, which will probably subject it to a revision.

The Commonwealth in Danger; with an Introduction, containing Remarks on some late Writings of Arthur Young, Esq. By John Cartwright, Esq. 8vo. 5s. Boards. Johnson. 1795.

The general character of major Cartwright's writings is so well known as to render it unnecessary for us to particularise the various opinions which, in his zeal for reform, he has advanced in this work. It consists of two nearly equal parts,—an introduction, and the essay called the *Commonwealth in Danger*. His principal intention appears to have been to refute Mr. Arthur Young's pamphlet, entitled, *The Example of France a Warning to Great Britain*, and to vindicate a parliamentary reform nearly upon the principles of universal suffrage. Throughout the whole volume he never loses sight of the first of these objects pursuing Mr. Young through all his windings and turnings; and it must be confessed he convicts that writer of many instances of unprincipled inconsistency, though not with the neatness and force exhibited by Mr. Young's former antagonist, the author of *Peace and Reform*. Major Cartwright is uncommonly diffuse
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and desultory; and had it not been for a previous knowledge of his principles, we should not have been able to discover the chief aim of the present publication before arriving at the conclusion. The subject of universal suffrage, indeed, has been so hackneyed that it is not easy to enliven it by any new matter: but a writer who wishes to be read (and what writer does not?) ought at least to avoid fatiguing his reader by the encumbrances of digression. All that is really valuable in this volume might have been comprised in a shilling pamphlet. In justice, however, to the labours of the writer, whom we believe to be an honest and well-informed man, and a sincere lover of his country, we shall lay before our readers his concluding propositions, leaving the question of propriety to their decision—

‘ The following arguments for redoubling our efforts in the cause of reform, are not, surely, to be disregarded.

‘ First, that nothing can so effectually dispose the people of Great Britain to exert themselves in defence of their country against invasion, as to give them such a stake and interest in the constitution, as a free people ought to possess.

‘ That to extend the elective franchise to all householders paying taxes; to equalize the representation; and to establish annual elections are necessary.

‘ That, as a substantial reform of the house of commons might be effected by the provisions of a single statute, so neither an actual invasion, nor other cause of public alarm, or confusion, which should not necessarily prevent the sitting of parliament, and the execution of the laws, can at any time furnish a just pretence, for postponing a measure so essential to the preservation of the constitution, as giving the people that representation in the legislature which is their right.

‘ That in case the calamitous situation of the country should render a permanent sitting of parliament necessary or expedient, it might be provided in the act for effecting the proposed reform, that the new representatives, to be first chosen under that act, should be elected during the continuance and sitting of the present parliament; and that the present parliament should not be dissolved until such new representatives were ready to enter upon their functions.

‘ That the disinclination of the people of the Netherlands and Holland to defend their respective countries against the French, must be attributed to the want of an identity of interest, and community of feeling, with those in whose hands the legislative and executive functions of their governments were placed; — to that certain, though perhaps secret, hostility, which must ever subsist between oppressors and the oppressed,

‘ That the impression made upon the people of Brabant, by the offer of the *joyeuse entrée* on the part of the emperor's government, when obliged to retire before the approaching armies of France, is

an instructive example to our borough-holders, that *reform may be offered too late*.

‘ That the same may also be true of *arms*, has been shewn by the conduct of the Dutch. When called upon without any offer to them of true political liberty, to rise in a mass; and when offered those arms of which they had before been denied the use; in silent and sullen disdain, they refused even to fight for their country.

‘ That a substantial reform in the house of commons, and a revival of the Saxon militia, including every householder, are the best, and apparently the only means, of obtaining an honourable and secure peace.

‘ That supposing the ministry of this country to consist of honest men who saw the necessity of a substantial reform in the house of commons; who stood pledged to contend for it; and who should accordingly exert themselves to the utmost, as men and as ministers, in an effort to obtain it; but should find the corrupt interests of the borough-mongers too powerful for their united strength; there cannot, as I must think, be a proposition more plain, than that such ministers must instantly resign their situations; assigning to the king and to the people, in the manly language of patriotism, their reasons for so doing: for it would be impossible that such men could consent passively to administer the government, under the indirect and dark, but absolute controul, of an infamous, plundering faction; the very existence of which faction would be a proof that an odious tyranny had overturned the constitution; and to continue in office under such a faction, would be voluntarily to partake of its criminality, and to co-operate with it, in rendering a recovery of the constitution impracticable. That to fall into the fatal error of compromising with the borough-mongers, for leaving them a portion of their present patronage, or corrupt influence, would be in effect to conspire with them against the rights of the people; and to leave a leaven in the dough of representation, by which the whole mass might again be infected, to the utter subversion of our liberties.

‘ That for the reasons last assigned, every possible effort, previous to a change of ministry, ought to be exerted, to weaken the faction of borough-mongers; by exposing them, in repeated petitions to parliament, in resolutions of patriotic societies, in writing and in conversation, to the contempt and detestation of mankind, as the real authors of all national calamity, and as the most deadly enemies to their country.

‘ That by thus actively labouring to the last moment of tranquillity, to tear away the veil of influence from before the borough-mongers, and to inform the people of the *true cause* of all national misfortunes, their exertions, when once called forth, might be successfully directed to the *true remedy*, a reform in the commons house of parliament; for if the people have not already the necessary con-

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viction to this end, it is plain that more instruction is wanting; and to what the distraction of their uninstructed minds may lead them, when the day of invasion and confusion may come, is an awful consideration for those who *might have led them into the paths of the constitution.* P. 139.

To these is added an Appendix, containing authorities on the duty of arming the people, a letter to the Holland Fen Farmers, and a short letter to the duke of Richmond on the fate of Messrs. Muir and Palmer.

Dangers which threaten Europe. Principal Causes of the Want of Success in the late Campaign: the Errors to be shunned, and the Means to be taken to render the present decisive in favour of the real Friends of Order and Peace. Translated from the French of M. Mallet Du Pan. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Boosey. 1795.

M. Mallet du Pan recommends, as a preliminary step to a counter-revolution, the *taking of Lisle!* We confess the project appears rather *feasible*; but we greatly prefer the scheme of Mess. Jenkinson, Canning, &c. of marching direct to Paris!

The Story of Sarah Durin, dedicated to the Advocates of an unjust and unnecessary War. 12mo. 3d. Parsons. 1795.

A sample of the domestic miseries which the war has occasioned in manufacturing towns. The design of the author is good, but the fiction is but poorly calculated to excite interest.

De la Révolution Française, en 1794. Par le Comte Alexandre de Tilly. 8vo. 4s. Boards. White, Piccadilly. 1795.

With a few exceptions, the writings of the French emigrants are not calculated to raise our opinion of their literary talents. This pamphlet is a farrago of loose and tumid declamation, and conveys little or no information of any importance.

Robespierre chez les Orphelins; ou Histoire Secrète des Derniers Jours de Robespierre. 8vo. 1s. 6d. 1794.

This is also apparently the production of an emigrant; and one more destitute of information and ingenuity can scarcely be found. The plot of the fable is that Robespierre being intoxicated wanders and loses himself one evening in the environs of Paris, where he falls asleep.—He is waked in the morning by some orphan children, who are pursuing a swarm of bees. They bring him home with them to an old man, under whose protection they are, and the circumstance of the bees serves to introduce a trite and tedious conversation on monarchical government.

A Sketch of a Speech delivered at the Westminster Forum, on the 9th, 16th, 23d, and 30th December 1794, on the following Question, 'Which have proved themselves the true Friends of their King and Country, those Persons who have endeavoured to procure a Constitutional Reform in Parliament, or those who have opposed that Measure as ill-timed and dangerous?' By John Gale Jones. 8vo. 1s. Allen and West. 1795.

The whole art of modern oratory seems to be to say common things in an uncommon way. We have here some truth—some declamation—and some inconclusive reasoning embellished by such metaphors as (to use Dean Swift's pun) we never *met-afore*. The London Corresponding Society is the constant theme of applause. 'The battering-ram is preparing, and the strong engines are ready to demolish the remaining outworks, and assail the weakened fortrefs (of corruption). Soon will the formidable attack be made, and, like the walls of Jericho, when the last charge is sounded, the whole fabric, with a loud and fearful crash, shall tumble to the ground.' Such common-place rant very lately frightened two-thirds of the nation into passive obedience.

Information concerning the Strength, Views, and Interests of the Powers presently at War; intended to assist true Friends to themselves and their Country, to judge of the Progress and Effects of the present War; and to decide upon the grand Question of immediate Peace? or War for another Campaign? By Robert Heron. 8vo. 5s. Boards. Vernor and Hood. 1794.

This is a republication of the celebrated pamphlet of the count de Montgaillard, with some other articles written in consequence of that publication.—If we regard our compiler's motto—'Nihil deest, si sit voluntas,'—it should seem that his intention is to persuade the ministry to persevere in the war; if we regard the facts contained in the pamphlet, nothing seems more abhorrent to common sense than to persevere in a contest with so little probability of success.

Reflections on the War, in Answer to Reflections on Peace, addressed to Mr. Pitt, and the French Nation. By Francis D'Ivernois, Esq. Translated from the Original French. 8vo. 2s. Elmsley. 1795.

Vast are the obligations Great Britain owes to those foreigners who take refuge on her hospitable shores! They give her—their *advice!*—Here is a very bulky pamphlet written to persuade her that it would be wrong to make peace with France,—and published at a time when the author, if he understands English, must know that peace is the universal wish, and that even the ministry themselves are relaxing from their adherence to war. M. D'Ivernois, whose abilities are certainly of the superior kind, inquires whether the war has really been more disastrous to the confederated powers, than neutrality would have been,—whether they ought to accede to any sort of treaty which would leave the French in possession of

the smallest part of their conquests,—and whether the chances of obtaining restitution, and of ultimate success in the present contest, are not in favour of that party which has the most permanent resources? The reader will readily guess how a friend to the continuance of the war answers these questions. M. D'Ivernois proceeds to prove that at present the only resource of France is her assignats, on which even her future military exertions must exclusively depend,—which are depreciating with a continually accelerating progression, and in a short time must inevitably be of no value whatever. Next comes the grand object of this pamphlet,—his review of the pecuniary resources of Great Britain, her commerce, her taxes, her debt, and her credit. On these as well as the preceding subjects, we have an artful arrangement of arguments, mixed with facts and calculations, and expanded at considerable length: but his conclusions will not, we fear, be found perfectly satisfactory; and indeed we suspect that he has had assistance, in this review of the resources of Great Britain, from quarters that have often been found fallacious. He says, for example, that this is the only country where those who are poor pay less in proportion to their incomes than those who are rich. Where M. D'Ivernois learned this, we know not. But some person must have deceived him. He could not have made such an assertion from any observation of his own; and to have taken up such loose and ridiculous principles as the foundation of his arguments, serves to defeat his purpose, and depreciate his understanding. Yet upon such vague and fallacious assertions does he step forward to persuade the British nation that they ought to persist in the war, that their commerce flourishes, and their credit and resources are inexhaustible.

The Prospect before us!!! or the State of France in the Month of August, 1794; in Reply to Montgaillard's State of France: to which are added, Reflections on the Expedience and Necessity of an immediate Peace with the French Republic. By Horatius Publicola. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Printed for the Author. 1794.

The author of this pamphlet displays considerable ability, but we cannot approve of the harsh and severe terms in which he reprobates the count de Montgaillard whom he professes to answer. The principal object of this publication is to refute an opinion, which we believe no sensible man ever entertained, 'That an actual majority of the people of France are decided royalists.' We recollect that towards the close of the American war, after the capture of lord Cornwallis and the resignation of lord Sackville, a certain sagacious secretary of state had the absurdity to affirm 'that two-thirds of the people of America were entirely hostile to congress!' How far his assertion was credited, we know not; but it seems that there are people who will credit any thing.

The principles upon which, in the opinion of our author, the peace

peace and prosperity of this nation may be restored, are the following —

- ‘ I. By the removal of your ministers.
- ‘ II. By renouncing your continental alliances.
- ‘ III. By acknowledging the liberty and independence of the French republic.
- ‘ IV. By concluding a treaty of commerce and alliance with America, Sweden, Denmark and Switzerland.
- ‘ V. By requesting those powers to interpose their good offices between this nation and France, to obtain a lasting peace and a commercial treaty.’ P. 110.

One fact, which is mentioned in a note, it may be proper to extract —

‘ Mr. Pitt by his arrogant conduct to the Northern powers, has lost Great Britain their valuable friendship. His scheme of blockading France and of capturing neutral vessels will cost the people of England several millions, which might have been saved. Denmark alone demands 557,000 pounds sterling for her share. The claims of America, Sweden, &c. are far more considerable.’ P. 118.

Into the mode of settling for the cargoes and demurrage of the neutral vessels, we wish the ministers would institute some inquiry. If we are rightly informed, the cargoes are paid for at the *invoice* price, which may be any value the owners please to put upon them. Besides this, an *immense* poundage, we understand, is charged by certain officers of the Admiralty court, though the money never goes through their hands.

Reflections on Monopolies, and the Dearness of Provisions; with Hints to prevent them: humbly offered to the Consideration of all Men of common Sense. By Philanthropus. 8vo. 3d. Wilkie. 1795.

This author attributes the distresses of the poor to the monopoly of corn and of land, and offers such remedies as are less difficult in speculation than in practice. Punishing monopolies is but a temporary remedy, and more calculated to gratify the indignant passions than to promote public good. In our opinion, the whole system of our corn-laws is radically wrong, and war only calls forth a more particular display of that misery which *at all times* is felt in a greater degree than it would if the country were governed by wise men.

Letters which passed between General Dumourier, and Pache, Minister at War to the French Republic, during the Campaign in the Netherlands, in 1792. Translated from the Original French, by Robert Heron. 12mo. Vernor and Hood. 1794.

These Letters are at present a little out of date,—so varying are the politics of the times.—They serve greatly to confirm our statement in our Review of Public Affairs, that Dumourier would not have

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been a traitor had he not previously been betrayed by Pache, the despicable agent of Marat and Robespierre.

The Speech of Henry Duquerry, Esq. in the House of Commons of Ireland, on Thursday, the 22d of January, 1795, on the Address to the King, on proposing an Amendment to entreat his Majesty not to refuse entering into a Negotiation with the present Government of France, for the Attainment of Peace. 8vo. 1s. White, Piccadilly. 1795.

Mr. Duquerry considers the war as unjust and unnecessary in its commencement, and desperate in its object. He recommends, therefore, in a sensible but short speech, an address for peace, which, it is almost needless to add, was rejected.

Plan of Internal Defence, as proposed by Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. to a Meeting of the County of Edinburgh, on the 12th Nov. 1794. 8vo. 6d. Stockdale. 1794.

In this plan, however speciously introduced, we cannot concur. We cannot but consider it as a most dangerous and pernicious measure to put arms into the hands of any considerable body of the people. Lord Howe and lord Bridport have discovered a much more effectual and constitutional defence for this island than that recommended by sir John Dalrymple.

Love and Truth: in two modest and peaceable Letters, concerning the Distempers of the present Times. Written from a quiet and conformable Citizen of London, to two busy and factious Shopkeepers in Coventry. A new Edition, with Notes and a Preface. By Thomas Zouch, M. A. 8vo. 2s. Dilly. 1795.

These letters were published in the last century, and are attributed to the pen of Isaac Walton. They contain a defence of the church of England; but, with all our respect for that church and for the learned editor, we have not been able to discover the merit which entitled them to a republication in the present day.

E A R L F I T Z W I L L I A M.

1.—*First Letter. A Letter from Earl Fitzwilliam, recently retired from this Country, to the Earl of Carlisle; explaining the Causes of that Event. Second Edition. Dublin printed, London reprinted.* 8vo. 1s. Robinsons. 1795.

Second Letter. A Letter from Earl Fitzwilliam, who recently retired from Ireland, to the Earl of Carlisle: explaining the Causes of that Event. Third Edition. 8vo. 1s. Robinsons. 1795.

The dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam from the viceroyship of Ireland, and the proceedings in consequence of that singular event, having been adverted to in another part of our Review (Review of Public Affairs, Appendix to Vol. XIII. N. Ar. p. 587 et seq.) we have

have only to remark that these letters are written with the becoming spirit of a mind justly indignant. However lord Fitzwilliam may have been to blame in relinquishing the party and principles he had long supported, to join men whose conduct appears to be a tissue of duplicity and intrigue, yet it is impossible not to applaud the spirit with which he resents the injury he has received.

In the first letter, he asserts that the dismissals of the Beresfords, &c. gave no offence, until *after* the parliament had made the most liberal grants for the service of the state. Then it was discovered that this was 'heinous and unpardonable criminality,' and that persons the most connected with lord Fitzwilliam had precipitately opened measures, which cannot be contemplated without horror. The measure of emancipating the Catholics was originally the measure of Mr. Pitt and the Westmoreland administration. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas both declared that 'they would not risk a rebellion in Ireland on such a question, but what they would not risk under lord W—d's administration, they were not afraid to risk under mine, when the jealousy and alarm, which certainly at the first period, pervaded the minds of the Protestant body, exist no longer; when not one Protestant corporation, scarcely an individual, has come forward to deprecate and oppose the indulgence claimed by the higher orders of Catholics: when even some of those who were most alarmed in 1793, and were then the most violent opposers, declare the indulgences now asked, to be only the necessary consequences of those granted at that time, and positively essential to secure the well-being of the two countries.'

The remainder of this letter corroborates the absolute necessity there appeared of bringing forward the question of Catholic emancipation directly, as the voice of the people, in every way it could be heard, was decidedly for it.

In the *Second Letter*, his lordship attempts to prove that the Catholic question entered for nothing into the real cause of his recall; and that from the very beginning, as well as in the whole proceedings of that business, he acted in perfect conformity with the original outline settled between him and his majesty's ministers, previous to his departure from London. These points appear to us to be very clearly demonstrated in the review he here takes of his correspondence with the cabinet of England on the Catholic measure, and which he concludes in these words—

'Let my friends, therefore, my dear Carlisle, no longer suffer the Catholic question to be mentioned, as entering in the most distant degree into the causes of my recall. Let them listen no longer to that terrifying enumeration of evils and miseries to result to the empire from a measure which my enemies affect to have considered either as originating with myself exclusively, or as hurried on by me rashly, precipitately, or without consent or consultation:—you have seen, when the dread of these miseries was first conceived, and

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when the complaint of this want of consultation was first brought forward, had Mr. Beresford been never dismissed, we never should have heard of them, and I should have remained.—But so remaining, I should have been disgraced indeed :—disgraced by the failure of all the measures which I had planned for the public welfare, and loaded with all the odium which that man and his connections have entailed upon that government which I was sent to displace. But it will be said, that in proving this point so strongly, I still leave myself open to other accusations, which affect my character, when I avow the earnestness with which I had determined to pull down the power of the Beresfords. I submit to the imputation of wishing to raise the Ponsonbys; it was only a family acquiring consequence, and a family losing it, according to an insinuation of a letter to me from one of the cabinet. Am I then so little known to my friends? Is it my character in the world that, whilst I pretend the public good, and the king's service, I am insidiously consulting my private interests? and, instead of my country, have only my own connections in view? I think, my dear Carlisle, you would be sorry to see me condescend to enter into the merits of such an accusation.—But by my dismissing Mr. Beresford, I broke my engagements with Mr. Pitt, so he himself states it. I acted, as he pretends in his letter, inconsistently with that principle by which alone the full advantage of the union which had taken place in England could be extended to Ireland. Would he insinuate, that the union which had taken place in England, precluded every idea of removal? Was there no removal in the war-office?—None in the post-office? None in the cabinet? Has there been no removal of his friends at the Admiralty? And did lord Spencer, on his succeeding lord Chatham, act inconsistently with the spirit of the union, when he required such changes, and the constitution of such a board, as, judging for himself, should command his confidence? Could what was right and consistent in so many instances, be blameable in mine? Charged with the government of a distracted and discontented country, am I alone to be fettered and restrained in the choice of the persons by whom I am to be assisted? And, rather than indulge me in that single point, even considering it in the light of indulgence, must the ministers of England boldly face, I had almost said, the certainty of driving this kingdom into a rebellion, and open another breach for ruin and destruction to break in upon us? Must I be interrupted in the course of the most unanimous session of parliament the country ever had seen? Commanding, by my influence, and on the credit of the persons whom I had employed, and I must add, on the satisfaction I had given by one dismissal I had made, supplies and forces beyond every former example; and causing a spirit of union and harmony to succeed to that general discontent and disaffection, as well against the system of the former government in general, as against the war itself; which, at the time of my arrival,

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manifestly and avowedly pervaded the bulk of the nation. And now, I think, I have sufficiently proved that the Catholic question entered for nothing into the cause of my dismissal; and have shewn that as far as my conduct in Ireland had any thing to do with it, I have traced it to the dismissal of Mr Beresford. But after all, why are we looking for the causes of my removal in the acts of my administration here?—We are seeking in vain: the true cause is not to be found among them: the fact is, we must go back to a more distant period. When the duke of Portland and his friends were to be enticed into a coalition with Mr. Pitt's administration, it was necessary to hold out such lures as would make the coalition palatable, or even possible for them to accede to. If the general management and superintendence of Ireland had not been offered to his grace, that coalition could never have taken place. The sentiments that he had entertained, and the language he had held so publicly for many years back, on the subject, rendered it a point that could not be dispensed with; accordingly it was offered from the beginning of the negotiation; as was also the home department of secretary of state. Ask the duke of Portland, when he engaged to accept, if he doubted that the office offered to him was to be entire, and such as his predecessors held it? Ask him, if he was forewarned by Mr. Pitt, that it was to be divested of half its duties, half its importance, and all its character? Ask him if he was apprized, that another secretary of state was to be made out of the department? and that he was to be left but a joint possessor, with an inmate? Ask him when he accepted the management of Ireland, if he did it under any restrictions whatever? Ask him if he pressed it upon me under any? and if he did not propose and recommend me to lay myself out immediately, for making such arrangements in the government, as would enable me to restore peace, tranquillity, and order in the country, and as would reconcile the general mass of the people?' P. 24.

2.—*A Fair Statement of the Administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, in Ireland; containing Strictures on the Noble Lord's Letter to Earl Carlisle.* 8vo. 1s. White, Piccadilly. 1795.

This author, after much quibbling upon the *dates* of the dispatches received by lord Fitzwilliam, in which he keeps the main question out of sight, and in which it would consequently be useless to follow him, asserts that the whole of lord Fitzwilliam's government was mere party of the most narrow and contracted kind; as to measures, confined to a very few, and as to patronage, to a single family, his lordship's cousins. There was not one *old servant of the crown* in the real confidence of the government: and if two or three were occasionally consulted on specific points on which their assistance was absolutely necessary, scarce any of them escaped some mark of indifference or slight. The whole of his object, indeed, is

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a defence of the '*servants of the crown*,' for whom his respect is bounded only by the last page of his pamphlet.

- 3.—*A plain Statement of Facts relative to the Administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, in Ireland.* 8vo. 1s. White, Piccadilly. 1795.

This is a defence of lord Fitzwilliam's administration and public services, against the attack, probably, of the preceding author: but neither of them adheres so closely to facts as to merit much notice.

- 4.—*Earl Fitzwilliam's Letters and Administration rescued from Misrepresentation. With some Observations on a Pamphlet entitled, The Fair Statement.* 8vo. 1s. Kearsley. 1795.

This is a spirited though rather desultory defence or vindication of Lord Fitzwilliam's conduct against the attack made by the author of the *Fair Statement* (see Art. 2.). The vindicator thinks that if any trust can be reposed in the declarations of a man, whose reputation for veracity and integrity the breath of slander has never hitherto presumed to sully, he received the appointment of lord lieutenant on the express condition that he should be permitted to relieve the catholics from every remaining disqualification.

- 5.—*Letter to the Right Honourable Earl Fitzwilliam, occasioned by his two Letters to the Earl of Carlisle, by William Playfair, Author of the Commercial and Political Atlas, &c.* 8vo. 1s. Stockdale. 1795.

This author accuses Lord Fitzwilliam of personal views in his administration, and of vanity and conceit: and if his lordship possessed half as much of the latter qualities as William Playfair, we should have thought the charge sufficiently heavy, without the scurrilous petulance which here accompanies it.

- 6.—*A Letter from the Earl of Carlisle to Earl Fitzwilliam; in Reply to his Lordship's two Letters.* 8vo. 1s. Stockdale. 1795.

'When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war.'—On taking up this letter, we had reason to expect information, such as the preceding writers were incapable of giving, and we wish we could add, that we have not been disappointed. Lord Carlisle begins with the following doubts—

'It is not easy for me to guess what idea the public may have formed of a letter which has produced such copious answers from you, and seemed to force you to a justification beyond the limits of a secret and confidential correspondence.'

Whatever blame may attach to Lord Fitzwilliam for a breach of secret correspondence, Lord Carlisle carefully abstains from any thing that can be construed into a charge so unbecoming a gentleman and a courtier; and sorry we are to add, that this aversion to disclose secrets has rendered a great part of this letter a profound

found secret. We do not say that Lord Carlisle's intention was to be so perfectly obscure as to elude all search for a meaning: but he deals so much in *generals* and hesitating suppositions, that the letter can by no means be considered as an answer to those of his noble friend.

On the subject of dismissing the Beresfords, Lord Carlisle is of opinion that Lord Fitzwilliam ought not to have taken that step before they had done something to deserve it. He vindicates their characters, as well as those of Messrs. Hamilton and Cooke: and, as Lord Fitzwilliam had formerly expressed that he thought it necessary to 'have a splendid parliamentary debater annexed to the condition of a great law-officer of the crown,' Lord Carlisle informs him that he 'subscribes to no such opinion,' and in vindication of a very opposite one, refers him to the example of many men on this side the water, whose acknowledged abilities and learning would have been lost to the state, had they been driven from their situations, because they made not the same brilliant figure in the senate which they had done at the bar. Lord Carlisle farther says, that in Mr. Pitt's endeavour to hold up a shield for the shelter of persons who had merited the favour the last Lord Lieutenant by their services, and on whose conduct no blame or censure had attached, he can only perceive an instance of firmness and justice. Lord Carlisle concludes this encomium on Mr. Pitt in these words—

'I dwell upon it for another motive which touches me more personally. By the extensive dispersion of your letters, I find myself the conductor of severe animadversion, where I cannot agree that it ought to have been directed. To have consented to have been the bearer of such sharp invective to the doors of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, &c. &c. I must previously have acknowledged the justice of it, before I undertook so painful an office: but, acknowledging its justice, could I stop there, and continue an independent support of a minister capable of the monstrous design of risking the condition of Ireland, of flinging it into the greatest probable confusion by trifling with its hopes and expectations, for the purpose of weakening a party, of whose strength and importance he confessed the value, by invitation and acceptance; and which strength and importance, in the public estimation, must be as necessary for his purposes at this moment, as the first hour you flung your weight into his scale?

'Such are the difficulties I allude to, in the beginning of my letter: in the first place, that of appearing by silence to adopt that censure I am made to convey; in the next, of submitting my sentiments freely to you, and thus approaching a matter of a most delicate nature, where the public curiosity ought not to be conducted with any observance of that discretion and secrecy, which my education has led me to consider as not to be dispensed with in great transactions of government.' P. 8.

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With regard to the question of catholic emancipation, Lord Carlisle declines entering upon it; which he thinks would be an impertinent obtrusion of his own sentiments.

‘I only take as an hypothesis, that the king’s ministers did not, in their judgments, yield to that *necessity*, which you state as sufficiently powerful with you, to determine you, no longer to restrain yourself to those limits within which it appears, at least for the time, it was the wish of your political connections that you should have confined yourself. And from this, we guess, has arisen that fatal misunderstanding, which has deprived Ireland of so much honour and integrity, the king of a faithful servant, has loosened the bonds of the closest friendship, has carried the poison of distrust and resentment into houses never before at variance, and conveyed a heavy charge indeed to the doors of his majesty’s ministers.’ P. 12.

Lord Carlisle, however, has removed no part of this heavy charge from the doors of his majesty’s ministers; he has not disproved the assertions of Lord Fitzwilliam. It is difficult, indeed, from the extremely cautious style he uses, to say positively that he affirms or denies any thing. The last sentence is a matchless specimen of the *courtly obscure*—

‘Under the strong feeling of a repugnance (which I am confident you will comprehend and excuse) to lend myself with a silence, that might argue willingness to become the channel of censure to individuals who had acted serviceably and honourably by me; to others, whose conduct I have had an opportunity of watching, and still retain my opinion of their unshaken friendship and attachment to you; lastly, to others, on whom I could not assist at heaping such disgrace, without holding them out, at the same time, as utterly unfit for the high stations they fill; I have been obliged thus tediously to trespass on your patience, an apology for which can only be looked for and found in that friendship I before alluded to, and which has, for so many years past, taught us indulgence to each other.’ P. 13.

7.—*A Letter to the Earl of Carlisle, occasioned by his Lordship’s Reply to Earl Fitzwilliam’s two Letters: exhibiting the present State of Parties in Ireland, vindicating the late Viceroy’s Administration, and the Characters of the Persons with whom he associated in Council, from the malevolent Aspersions levelled at them—and detailing the Secret Causes which led to his Recall.* 8vo. 1s. 6d. Crosby, 1795.

‘This letter is signed O’Connor, which, whether a real or fictitious name, is not of much consequence. The author evinces considerable abilities, and explains the state of parties in Ireland in
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a satisfactory, and, we believe, impartial manner. With regard to Lord Carlisle's letter, he holds the opinion we have already expressed, that those who expect in it 'A Reply,' will find themselves wholly disappointed, and that he has not disproved any one position advanced by Lord Fitzwilliam, whose letters must therefore be entitled to credit. He is also of opinion that the ministry who now affect to dread the consequences of a full emancipation of the catholics, will agree to it as soon as compelled by what they call 'existing circumstances.'

8.—*Letter to Earl Fitzwilliam, on his Speech in the House of Peers, on Friday, April 24; on that of Lord Milton the same Day; and on Mr. Grattan's Motion, in the House of Commons of Ireland, on the 21st of April: with a Postscript on the Earl of Carlisle's Letter. By a Member of the Whig Club. 8vo. 1s. Baldwin. 1795.*

To hear a *Member of the Whig Club* indulging in the praises of Mr. Pitt's administration, and in the coarsest invectives against Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan, and the whigs of Ireland, is certainly worth *one shilling*, although what the *Member* says is as certainly not worth one farthing.

P O E T R Y.

A Sketch of the Campaign of 1793. A Poem, in Two Parts. Part I. Letters from an Officer of the Guards, on the Continent, to a Friend in Devonshire. Part II. A Series of Letters, from one of his Royal Highness the Commander in chief's Aid-de-camps on the Continent, to Miss Lucy Lovegrove, in England. 4to. 3s. 6d. Cadell and Davies. 1795.

'Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim'—

would be a motto not ill adapted to the present age. The history of a campaign in verse has at least novelty to recommend it; but how far this mixture of the serious and the lively,—of the comic and the sad,—may be conceived agreeable to classical taste, we shall not attempt to determine.—We are not, however, disposed to be too fastidious, and could easily forgive an innovation which contributed to our entertainment; but the present publication is deficient in spirit and interest, and the greater part is little more than a newspaper in rhyme.

The following lines are among the best, and might be very well applied as illustrative verses to Hogarth's much celebrated march of the guards.

'All smoothly went on in the front of our line,
But the rear, O ye Gods! who on earth could define?
Not a single pot-alehouse escap'd an assault,
And they drain'd to the dregs, every barrel of malt,
Supported between two battalion men, here,
Hisling hot from the bung, reel'd a tall grenadier.

Two

Two damsels attending, his armour to bear,
 As drunk as the staggering hero, were there;
 His cross belts and pouch the fair Phillida bore,
 While his cap Amaryllis triumphantly wore!
 Our march was retarded by whiskies and gigs;
 Mad drivers, mad oxen, and obstinate pigs.
 Men boxing, dogs barking, and women in tears,
 And noises, that ne'er crack'd the drums of our ears.
 Carts follow'd to pick up all stragglers they found,
 Who, unable to move, had repos'd on the ground.' P. 2.

It is not consistent with our duty to permit a publication like the present to pass without expressing our detestation of those false principles of what is called 'national glory,' which it endeavours to inspire,—principles not less repugnant to true philosophy than to the *Christian religion*. The poem and notes also abound with vulgar errors.—Thus, in p. 8, the courage of the French soldiers is attributed to the 'spirits, which were always served out previous to an engagement.' The fact is that the French are an uncommonly temperate people, and make much less use of spirituous liquors in a campaign than either the English or Germans. But the circumstance would reflect no honour on the allies if it was true.—If the French can beat us soundly when drunk, what would they do if they were sober?

'For the horrors of war, there, alas! is no cure'—

is a very false sentiment. The cure for war will be the progress of good sense and religion. — As soon as men can discern their true interest, they will see the gross folly of shedding their blood, and wasting their treasure on objects in general as trifling as breaking the egg at the small or great end, and which would be much better settled by the cast of a pair of dice. In a note we are informed that every 13 inch shell which is thrown costs the nation 5l. sterling; and every 24 pound ball, 2l.—143 800 shot and shells were expended in the siege of Valenciennes!!! To the writer of such non-sensical lines as the following, we earnestly recommend the learned dissertation of Hudibras upon honour.

'Here Evans was mortally wounded, and here
 A ball put a stop to poor Bosville's career;
 Sad tidings are these, for his newly made bride,
 Scarce married, when hurried away from her side.
 By honor's stern mandate, he left her forlorn,
 Little dreaming, alas! he must never return.
 'Twas here too Depieffer's unfortunate lot,
 When serving his guns, thro' the heart to be shot.
 The Second Brigade to relieve us was sent,
 And back to our camp we all joyfully went.

The

The redoubts, which with so great a loss had been gain'd,
 Were only till early next morning maintain'd.
 But honor, my friend, 'tis in general thought,
 Cost what price it will, can't too dearly be bought;
 That's our creed, or Linceles would induce me to say,
 'Twas a pity brave men should be lavish'd away.' P. 41.

The author of the second part gives but little credit for wisdom to those who formed the plan of the campaign. He states many gross abuses, and among others the following—

'B—k W—t—f—n they say, to his deputy too
 Has left all his intricate business to do;
 And hopp'd off to Brussels to pass time away,
 While the horses can scarce get a mouthful of hay.
 So high are their bones, and so rough are their coats,
 You may see they have tasted more whippcord than oats.
 But Brookey will tell them a plausible tale,
 And make them believe that a flail's not a flail!' P. 64.

The following anecdote in a note is much to the honour of our allies!

'On the 27th of Oct. an advanced guard, consisting of about 200 British heavy cavalry, and some Austrian hussars fell in with a picquet of French infantry, of nearly the same strength, retreating towards Lille. They killed 52 on the spot, and with their broad swords cut up the rest in such a manner, that only about 20 escaped being wounded. The hussars on this occasion behaved shamefully, keeping back till the enemy were thrown into confusion by the charge of the British; they *then* rode up, and after cutting with their sabres till they had tired both hands, drew out their pistols, and fired into the heap of wounded lying in the road. The following is one, among many instances that occurred during the campaign, of the ferocity, and more than savage barbarity of those corps. A French officer fell into the hands of an Austrian hussar, who, as he was conducting him, suddenly stopped, and giving the unfortunate prisoner a pistol, ordered him to load and return it, which he had no sooner done, than the wretch in cold blood, and merely for amusement, blew out his brains with its contents.' P. 66.

From the specimens we have given, our readers will perceive that this publication abounds neither in sentiment nor wit. The verse is in general easy, but the language is colloquial and common, and in many parts falls under that description of verse which Pope has characterised by the phrase *namby-pamby*—

'Next Marchaall a soldier most highly esteem'd,
 Who justly a loss to the army is deem'd.'

The rhimes are not always perfect. We doubt whether *Fechin* and *Marchiennes*, p. 37, can be called any rhyme at all. Such phrases

phrases as a 'dashing style,' 'bore-ye,' &c. are too vulgar to be admitted even into the most familiar style of poetry.

Hair Powder; a Plaintive Epistle to Mr. Pitt, by Peter Pindar, Esq. To which is added (with considerable Augmentation), Frogmore Fête, an Ode for Music, for the first of April, vulgarly called All Fools Day. 4to. 2s. 6d. Walker. 1795.

Peter shows the world that his muse is still *his own*. By the following quotation, our readers will observe that the laughing dandel has not forfeited any part of her original character.

' Mercy to England yield, the poor lean cow !
Thy busy fingers have forc'd milk enow :
Though frequent rushing the lank teats to teaze,
How patiently the beast has borne thy squeeze !
Just shak'd her head, and wincing whisk'd her tail,
When oft thou fill'dst a *puncheon* for a *pail* :
But now she bushing roars, and makes a pudder,
Afrail thy harden'd hands may steal her *udder*.
Think on America, our *cow* of *yore*,
Which oft the hand with Job-like patience bore ;
Who, pinch'd, and yet denied a lock of hay,
Kick'd the hard milkman off, and march'd away.
In vain he try'd by ev'ry art to catch her ;
To wound, to hamstring, nay, knock down, *dispatch* her ;
Far off she kept, where love, where freedom rules ;
Mocking the fruitless rage of rogues and fools.' P. 17.

The Restoration of the Jews, a Poem. By William Ashburnham, Esq. Jun. 4to. 2s. Cadell and Davies. 1794.

This gentleman tells us in an Advertisement,

' The following poem was originally written for the Seatonian prize, at the university of Cambridge ; but the author, not having the honour to be a master of arts, was informed he could not be admitted a candidate : as by the express terms of Mr. Seaton's will, the prize can be adjudged only to masters of arts : in consequence of which this poem was never presented to the university.'

This poem we have read with considerable pleasure ; we think it possesses much poetical merit, and that the author, if he had been a master of arts, might have reasonably indulged the hope of being a successful candidate for the academical prize.

We extract one or two passages with pleasure, to enable the reader to form his judgment on the merits of this poem. The admired passage in Isaiah, which has been put into a beautiful Latin dress by Lowth, and into elegant English by Mason, is thus turned by Mr. Ashburnham—

' O Lucifer, who shon'st of late so high,
The fairest star in th' Assyrian sky,

How

How art thou fallen ! ne'er to rise again,
 Thy palace rifled, and thy children slain.
 Wave high your tops, majestic cedars wave,
 The mighty spoiler is deny'd a grave.
 Hell opens wide her jaws to seize the prey,
 And snatch the monster from the face of day.' P. 12.

' *Shon't* in the first line is however unharmonious, and might have easily been exchanged for a better word.

The following passage possesses much poetical merit—

' The wilderness is past—all, all is o'er,
 Safely arriv'd on Jordan's pleasant shore,
 The ransom'd tribes, with hearts united, raise
 A loud Hosanna to Jehovah's praise.
 This is his vineyard, this his chosen vine,
 (Whose tendrils round the hallow'd mount entwine)
 Deep rooted here ; rescu'd from Pharaoh's hand,
 Fix'd in a fertile, a luxuriant land,
 With milk and honey flowing, rich and fair,
 Pellucid fountains, and balsamic air;
 Salubrious streams enrich the fertile vale,
 Nectareous odours breathe in ev'ry gale,
 While dews from heav'n their choicest influence shed,
 And fill with fragrance Zion's sacred head.
 Judea's hills, her gay embroider'd plain,
 Exub'rant pasture, rich and waving grain,
 Her sacred haunts, her consecrated tow'rs,
 Her golden fruitage, and ambrosial bow'rs,
 Dart on the mind, arrest the raptur'd sight,
 And fill the soul with pleasure and delight.
 O happy Israel, arise, and shine,
 Protected by the Majesty Divine.
 Held by his hand, directed by his eye,
 Let the storm thunder, and the lightnings fly,
 Thou art secure though winds and torrents rave,
 As the rock baffles the tempestuous wave.
 Laden with wealth, adorn'd with plenty's smile,
 Rich as Arabia, fruitful as the Nile,
 Rescu'd from bonds, snatch'd from oppression's rod,
 Their fetters broken by the hand of God ;
 Can this blest nation by his bounty fed,
 Neglect to rear the temple's hallow'd head ?
 The sacred dome, the tall majestic pile,
 The spacious courts, and consecrated aisle ?
 Mould'ring in dust behold the awful shrine,
 The glorious residence of Light Divine

Lying in ruins.—There no altars blaze,
 No Hallelujahs sound Jehovah's praise;
 No curling wreaths from burnish'd censers rise,
 Nor with ambrosial fragrance fill the skies;
 No arched roofs echo the vocal strain,
 No hymns are chaunted, and no victims slain.
 O glowing gratitude! with glist'ning eye,
 Whose silver tones ascending mount the sky,
 Whither, bright cherub, whither art thou flown?
 To northern regions, or the torrid zone?
 That Israel's favour'd sons, supremely blest,
 Their exile ended, and their wrongs redrest,
 Forsake the Lord, neglect his holy shrine,
 And brave the wrath of Majesty Divine.' p. 16.

The Restoration of the Jews: a Poem. By the Rev. Francis Wrangham, M. A. Member of Trinity-Hall, Cambridge, and Curate of Cobham, Surry. 4to. 1s. Dilly. 1795.

The present composition obtained the prize at Cambridge, assigned by the late Mr. Seaton to the best English poem, to be written on a serious subject. The first subjects were the perfections or attributes of God: but these being now exhausted, the subject is left to the determination of the vice-chancellor, master of Clare Hall, and Greek professor.

The gentleman who on the present occasion was the successful candidate, has distinguished himself, we understand, at Cambridge, by his pursuits of general knowledge, as well as by his attention to the Muses. With respect to the following poem, we think it will afford every lover of poetry pleasure; though the critical ear will occasionally meet with a few passages that might be improved.

The introductory part possesses much correctness of versification, and the true style of poetry—

' Fain would the poet tell, what oft his ear
 Has caught with rapture, how by thee convey'd
 Twice twenty summers, they their long array
 Wound through the intricate and perilous path,
 When with impending pillar, 'mid the wild
 And devious solitude, the daily cloud
 And flame nocturnal mark'd th' uncertain way
 Alternate: gushing from the riven rock
 The welcome torrent pour'd in lavish pride
 It's liquid store; and, by circumfluous night
 Shrouded from eye profane, JEHOVAH trac'd
 With his own finger on the two-leav'd stone
 The double law: heav'n from its height bow'd down
 At his descent; with radiance beam'd the mount,
 Whose touch was death; the consecrated hill

Shook

Shook with unusual weight; beneath his feet
 Flow'd darkness; and the light'ning's triple blaze,
 Hurling it's awful splendors through the gloom,
 Announc'd the present Deity. In vain
 This marvellous magnificence of pow'r!
 'Too soon young novelty, with Siren tongue
 Beguil'd their easy heart and lull'd the sense
 In fatal fascination. Two alone
 Surviv'd the tedious maze: ev'n thou wert doom'd,
 As burst the glorious vision on thy view
 Of Israel's destin'd heritage, to sleep
 Obscure in undiscover'd sepulchre;
 Though age not dimm'd the vigour of thine eye
 Nor six-score winters chill'd thy fervid blood!' P. 2.

But we doubt the propriety of invoking Moses as the source of poetic inspiration—

———— ‘Thou Moses, &c.
 ————— thyself a bard,
 Inspire the Muse.’

The abbreviation *'neath*, too, l. 14, though we know great authorities use it, sounds uncouth and unharmonious.

The following passage, which describes the moral character of the Jews prior to the Babylonish captivity, possesses much beauty.

‘As some tall vine, whose blushing fruitage glows
 Beneath the lustre of the noon-tide ray,
 Long ISRAEL flourish'd; till, by gradual shade
 Darken'd to deepest scarlet, guilt provok'd
 Th' Omnipotent's accumulated ire,
 And urg'd the tardy bolt. Upon his throne
 Sat rash Rebellion, ever prompt to swerve
 From duty's sober path: his dames were fair,
 But frail as fair; such, *Albion*, thine, if thine
 Rightly the bard hath noted—mirror-taught
 To roll th' obedient eye, and court the glance
 Of stagg'ring wantons, or with zoneless waist
 Rouse the lascivious fire: there avarice ground
 The face of indigence: the slanderer there
 Wove the false tale; and rob'd devotion paid
 Th' undeviating homage of the lip,
 With specious punctuality of pray'r
 Masking her crimes.'— P. 3.

The middle part of this poem, which describes the siege of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews, is illustrated by quotations from Josephus's Antiquities, Bishop Newton's Dissertations on the Prophecies, and Hartley's Observations on Man.

We close our quotations with the two last paragraphs, describing the

the happy situation of the Jews after the restoration; in which, however, one coarse abbreviation occurs,—*em'lous*,—which would have read far better, unabbreviated—*emulous*; for such words are so pronounced as not to lengthen the verse.

‘ Sep’rate no more their tribes : his scepter’d pride
Judah resigns; and Levi’s hallow’d sons
Renounce the ephod, prompt in earlier times
To purge the public stain : for now they own
Their SHILOH come; nor longer, idly vain,
Assert the useless privilege of birth.

Then shall some patriot bard, to cheer their way,
With magic touch explore the trembling strings
And pour around the liquid harmony;
While, with past solitude contrasting still
Present society, so sweeter deem’d,
He cheats the summer’s day of half its hours;
Oft, to the harp in tuneful concert join’d
Swells the glad voice; and oft, as on the ear
The music falls, they move in measur’d step
Responsive,—while the joyous sounds deceive
Their em’lous foot, more active by its toil.

Then, too, as bursts upon his aching sight
The splendid blaze of prophecy fulfill’d,
Shall some wrapt Simeon raise the grateful song
And hail th’ accomplishment: “ Lord, now dismiss’d
In peace thy servant sleeps; his eyes have seen
Thy people sav’d, thy ISRAEL RESTORED.” P. 13.

A Poetical and Complimentary Epistle to Richard Brothers, the Prophet, and Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq. M. P. with an Anecdote on Emanuel Swedenborg. 4to. 6d. Vernor and Hood. 1795.

It would be a difficult matter to decide whether the attempt at wit or poetry has here been least successful. The following quotation will convey to the reader a proper idea of both.

‘ O Brassey—visionary themes delight
The gloomy zealot, superstitious wight;
There, fancy’d fairies perch on ev’ry chair,
And sprites oft flutter thro’ the ambient air;
Hobgoblins, demons,—seen in fable night,
And some are favour’d with the second sight.
Thus reason wings her course to other spheres,
And clouded apathy—encourage fears.’ P. 10.

Improved

Improved Psalmody, in Three Parts, printed separately for each Voice: or a Poetical Version of the Psalms, originally written by the late Rev. James Merrick, A. M. Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, divided into Stanzas for Parochial Use, with New Music, collected from the most eminent Composers, by the Rev. W. D. Tatterfall, A. M. 8vo. Rivingtons. 1795.

Mr. Merrick's version of the Psalms is so well known, and so generally and so justly admired, that it is unnecessary for us to enter on a formal examination of its merit: and all that would be expected to be said concerning the musical part, is so properly said by Mr. Tatterfall, that we shall leave that gentleman to speak for himself.

'In my first collection of psalm-tunes, which were partly new and partly selected from ancient authors, I proposed a plan for establishing societies for the regular practice of church-music, to which I refer the reader; and shall now remark, in respect to these Psalms, that each society should select such tunes as they know are most likely to be approved by their minister and the congregation at large, and no tunes should on any account be introduced before the singers have sufficiently tried them, and are found to be correct in their several parts.

'It being my wish that the melody should at all times appear complete, I have in a few instances introduced small notes as well as the rests, with an observation when the voices are to be silent, that, provided those who sing the seconds or bases are absent, their places may be supplied by the upper trebles.

'I have only to add, that this version, with the portions set to music, and adapted to the different voices in a choir, is published in its present form with a view of rendering it as cheap as possible, that it may be purchased and distributed by the churchwardens or principal inhabitants, at a trifling subscription, in every parish which may be disposed to introduce it into the congregation, and likewise of saving the singers the inconvenience and trouble of transcribing the words and the tunes; by which means mistakes will be avoided, and none can be at a loss to prepare themselves for the due performance of this edifying part of divine worship.'

Mr. Tatterfall has, we doubt not, performed an acceptable service to a numerous class of people. As the reader will find in this version very elegant verse, he will also be gratified by no less agreeable music; for the names of our most eminent composers of church music appear in these pages, the name of the composer being always placed at the beginning of the psalm that he set to music.

The Age, a Satire, in Six Cantos. By C. I. Pitt. 12mo. 1s. Harrison. 1795.

The modesty of the author has condensed into a shilling twelve more sound sense, genuine humour, and good poetry, than will be found throughout the numerous pages of many a splendid quarto.

C. R. N. Axx. (XIII.) *August, 1795*

I i The

The promise made in the poem is amply fulfilled throughout the work—

‘No errant scribbler, with illicit rhymes,
Defames his betters, and belies the times :
A *British swain*—“ he *knows* no better name,”
Jealous of honour, scandaliz’d at shame,
Assails corruption, in the zeal of youth ;
Satire his weapon, and his buckler, truth.’ P. 7.

Poems and Miscellaneous Pieces. By Sarah Spence. Small 8vo.
4s. 6d. Johnson. 1795.

These poems are ushered into the world by a respectable list of subscribers, and by an elegant recommendatory poem from Mr. Capel Lofft. We may conclude therefore that the approbation which the severity of criticism might refuse to the *author*, is given without hesitation, by those who know her, to the *woman* : and this tribute, we presume, will be more acceptable to Mrs. Spence than the other, as she professes it to be the *chief* object of her publication *to regain the esteem, by proving herself not unworthy of it, of a very near relation*, between whom and herself there is, it seems, an unhappy breach. We cannot indeed flatter her so far as to say she has fallen upon a likely method to recal the affections of this near relation, in bringing their difference before the public ; but the sentiments of piety and resignation, which pervade her works,—the mildness of her complaints, and the affection she expresses for the partner from whom she is at present divided,—will no doubt interest her readers in her favour, and dispose them to enter into the sentiments of Mr. Lofft.

R E L I G I O U S.

A New Dictionary of Correspondencies, Representations, &c. or the Spiritual Significations of Words, Sentences, &c. as used in the Sacred Scriptures. Compiled from the Theological Writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenbourg, by James Hindmarsh. 12mo.
3s. Hindmarsh. 1794.

This volume contains about three thousand correspondences, spiritual significations of words, and explanations of difficult passages of scripture, arranged in alphabetical order, and for the most part having the authorities annexed to each article. It may probably be very useful to the members of the new church, for whom it was compiled, although we do not pretend to understand the sublime mysteries of Swedenbourg, even with a dictionary before us. The following definitions may serve as a specimen of the whole :

‘*Adze* or *ax*, signifies the truth of faith derived from charity, The head, being iron, denotes truth ; and the handle, which is wood,

wood, charity or good. In an opposite sense, ax means *false*. *Mag. An.* p. 265.

'*Cask or waterpot, scientifics. Arc. 3068.*'

'*Celibacy.* The reason why they who live in celibacy are on the side of heaven, is, because the sphere of perpetual celibacy infests the sphere of conjugal love, which is the very essential sphere of heaven. *Conj. Love. 54.*'

Paine's Age of Reason measured by the Standard of Truth. Wakefield's Examination of, and a Layman's Answer to, the Age of Reason, both weighed in the Balance, and found Wanting. By Michael Nash, Author of Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal. 8vo, 1s. 6d. Mathews. 1794.

The author of *Gideon's Cake of Barley Meal*, conceiving that Mr. Wakefield's *EXAMINATION OF THE AGE OF REASON*, and *THE AGE OF INFIDELITY*, by a layman, are essentially defective, undertakes a task, to which we think him at least incompetent, viz: to supply their defects. One or two notions he holds in common with Mr. Wakefield, respecting establishments and privileged orders; but as to the sacred scriptures, Mr. Nash doubts whether they have any more weight with Mr. Wakefield than they have with Mr. Paine.

The character of this publication may be gathered from his own words—

'After the publication of two Answers to the *Age of Reason* it may appear like arrogance to intrude a third on the public. But when the word of God is darkened rather than defended by those who have taken upon them to be its advocates, it creates an obligation on such as have tasted its sweetness, and felt its power, to come forth on these occasions to rescue the truth from the violence of false friends.

'Had either of those answers been conclusive I should gladly have declined a combat with infidels; but as Mr. Wakefield's examination of the *Age of Reason* merits confutation and reprehension as much as that dissical pamphlet, and the *Age of Infidelity*, by a Layman, omits the most weighty internal evidence of scripture, and rests the evidence of God's word on the writings of men, and human reason, I feel a strong impulse to take up my pen, "lay hold of shield and buckler, draw out the spear, and stop the way against them:"

'The man that will undertake to defend the scripture before he is taught by the same spirit which indited it, will be sure, in some part or other, to darken counsel by words without knowledge: for "*I receive not testimony from man,*" said our divine master, the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the essential, and the substance of the written word; whose holy spirit I humbly implore to keep me from writ-

ing any thing that he will not approve, and lead my mind only to write that of him and his word which will stand the test when the world is in flames.

‘ Now with his word in my heart, and reliance on his teaching, I go forth with this sling and stone against the Goliaths of the day; and I hope with these only to stop the mouths of gainsayers, and to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men.

‘ The Lord be with it wherever it goes, and make it effectual to convict his adversaries, and instruct or comfort his friends. Amen.’ p. iii.

Family Lectures : or, a Collection of Sermons, selected from the most celebrated Divines, on Faith and Practice. A New Volume, large 8vo. 12s. Boards. Longman. 1795.

The present collection of sermons, professed to be selected from ‘ the most celebrated divines,’ are recommended as family lectures. Those must be indeed fastidious, who, among such a variety of compositions—many of them the production of writers of acknowledged abilities and critical learning,—reap neither improvement nor information. The following list of names is given in the title-page.

‘ Atterbury—Adams—Allen—Barrow—Balguy—Batty—Beveridge—Bentley—Bellamy—Blackall—Brown—Bull—Bundy—Burnet—Clarke—Calamy—Coney—Delany—Duke—Gibson—Hort—Hoadley—Hopkins—Hickman—Horne—Hole—Harvest—Ibbot—Jortin—Kennet—Littleton—Lucas—Lupton—Moor—Moss—Orr—Porteus—Ridley—Sharp—Sherlock—Swift—Stebbing—Stephens—Snape—Stillington—Seed—Secker—Tillotson—Tilly—Terry—Trapp—Wake—Wilson—Webster.’

The work, in its present state, is of an incommodious size, and might have been advantageously separated into two volumes. The beauty and neatness of the page is also injured by the division into columns.

A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, on the Third of May, 1795, at Great St. Mary's Church, by John Mainwaring, B. D. Lady Margaret's Professor in Divinity. 4to. 1s. 6d. Deighton. 1795.

This is the dearest morsel of divinity that we have taken into our hands for some time. When nineteen pages only are given for eighteen pence, the public has a right to expect that they should be correctly printed, and particularly so when the work comes from the press of the university. Yet in this small number of pages, five errors have been corrected by the author's pen, and we have discovered an equal number requiring the same correction. Such incorrectness, from such a place, is worthy of the severest animadversion.

The preacher has taken for his subject, "the mystery of iniquity," spoken of by the apostle Paul, in 2 Thess. xi. 7. and this mystery he conceives to have worked in the Jews, in the apostolical ages,—in the pagans, to the abolition of heathen worship,—in the papists, in the subsequent ages,—and in our own times, it is working to still worse purposes in modern philosophers and free-thinkers. Indeed every thing that is said on former ages is meant only by way of introduction to a violent invective against the persons, whosoever they are, and wheresoever they live, whom the preacher chooses to range under the banners of 'a presumptuous, self-sufficient, freethinking philosophy.'

It is not our part at present to inquire how far this liberty of abusing an antagonist is to be tolerated in an academical pulpit; the writings of the apostles and their discourses give us no reason to imagine that they would use such weapons to overthrow their gainers. We shall observe only that a misunderstanding of the text has led the preacher into this querulousness against the present times, and that a little more consideration might have led him to produce many valuable observations, which must have been edifying to his audience. The mystery of iniquity, of which the apostle spoke, was not a thing open to every one. There was no mystery in the opposition of the Jews or the heathen in ancient times to the Christian religion; nor is there any mystery in the opposition of modern atheists and deists: they are declared enemies of revelation; they conceive erroneously that it has been injurious to the best interests of mankind; and confounding the persecuting spirit of too many Christians, with the real principles of the gospel, they reject the authority of our Saviour, and spurn at those precepts which they assert to be so little followed by his disciples.

Having thus mistaken the sense of the apostle in the outset, the preacher naturally gives us some common-place thoughts on the Jewish, heathen, and popish spirit. Between the latter, the pride of popery, and the arrogance of vain philosophy, it is easy, we are told, to perceive a connection, derived indeed from the spirit of Antichrist; and the fall of popery in many kingdoms made way for the present destructive system of free-thinking: 'No sooner were the rights of private judgment vindicated, and the free exercise of it established, than a set of writers, under the imposing title of free-thinkers, boldly assumed the office of guides and instructors-general; and obtruded on the public, their crude and fantastick opinions of every kind, but especially on the subjects of religion and government.' These persons, it seems, have met with too much encouragement in protestant states; for in this respect, the preacher tells us, that he is 'very apprehensive that the nations and states of the reformed persuasion have more to answer for than they are aware of; almost all the infidel, and much the greater part of immoral productions so instrumental to the apostasy of these latter

times, having been written and printed in protestant countries ; although the ravages of a plague or a pestilence are not more to be dreaded than the influence of such books on the mind and imagination.'

'These free-thinkers have been and are employed in endeavours to overthrow received opinions, and substitute in their room the most wild and absurd, that fancy could invent or impiety suggest.' They 'make it their study to confound the understanding, by disputing and perplexing the plainest truths.' 'In philosophy, they were so modest or so dull, as hardly to aim at the merit of invention ;' yet, in a few lines farther, we find that the theory of materialism 'is a glaring proof how far the same licentious principles' (adopted by Epicurus), 'which vitiate the heart, can pervert the most improved understandings.' Thus, all these free thinkers are not dull stupid fellows : but 'our modern sages are dogmatical and decisive,' are 'subtile sophisters', are 'self-appointed instructors ;' 'disdaining a tame submission to the tyranny of custom, they reverse every rule of caution suggested by experience :' they 'aim at the overthrow of all regular government,' abuse the excellent principle of toleration, which 'is asserted and carried to an extent inconsistent with the public safety,' pervert the liberty of the press, so that 'unless it can be brought under better regulations, it must soon extinguish all sense of decorum, and defeat the effect of all sound instruction :' they are instruments of the devil, who is not however mentioned in these vulgar terms, but is called 'the invisible foe,' who acts upon persons 'sometimes by his own proper and immediate influence, sometimes through the medium of his human instruments, his apt and able associates in error and seduction.'

Having thus described the free-thinkers, the preacher warns the younger part of his audience to be on their guard not to be imposed on by the 'double artifice of infidelity, the abusive application of opprobrious, and the affected contempt of honorable names,' the latter affixed by folly to the term orthodox, the former frequently given, under the name of bigotry, to those who are zealous defenders of the faith. Yet this opposer of opprobrious terms when used against his own opinions, in a few lines farther, stigmatises his opponents with the title of 'certain sciolists, who are actuated by a presumptuous philosophising spirit, equally hurtful both to piety and letters.' We are exhorted 'to resist it to the utmost of our power ;' the example of the unenlightened heathen is set before us, who 'understood this duty, and some of them practised it too with a zeal and perseverance which would justly be admired in the best of Christians.' We know how the heathen opposed it, and we know what the gospel prescribes,—very different modes indeed from what the preacher, through the whole of his discourse, seems to endeavour to insinuate.

We trust that it is needless for us to declare that we shall always

ways watch with true zeal the progress of infidelity and licentious principles in government,—that we shall always be found the defenders of revelation and rational liberty; and when we see opinions advanced, as in the sermon before us, we shall warn the public of the dangers to be incurred in either extreme, whether that of defending religion and government by means averse from the spirit of the gospel and true constitutional liberty, or of opposing both by the virulence of faction and fanaticism. We cannot see the author insinuate that the present toleration is carried to an extent inconsistent with the public safety, without reminding him that he cannot in conscience demand more from the state than he enjoys,—namely, encouragement in the maintaining of his own opinions, and liberty to abuse his antagonists to the utmost of his power. We are advocates for unlimited toleration, and therefore admire and commend the university of Cambridge, for suffering the virulence of their preacher to pass without censure; and we would ask the author, what steps he should have taken, if any one of his antagonists had inveighed in the same pulpit against his own doctrines with the same freedom. His complaint against the liberty of the press is equally futile; if he uses invectives against his opponents, it is natural to expect that they will do the same in return: but though no limits can be assigned to his own extravagance, there are bounds set by law, which his opponents cannot pass over with impunity.

Upon the whole, we recommend to the preacher—instead of abusing toleration, the liberty of the press, and the adversaries of religion—to make a better use of the means in his power to establish the truth against all gain-sayers. By means of the press, he may oppose solid argument to sophistry;—he may at least be careful to print correctly;—he may state in specific terms, who these antagonists of religion are, whom he opposes,—what arguments they bring in support of their cause,—and how they may easily be overthrown. If they are zealous, let him be zealous,—if they print, let him print,—if they will not let slip an opportunity of attacking, let him be equally on his guard to defend. On one side is truth, on the other sophistry: unless the advocates for truth are idle and listless, the sophists cannot prevail. The pulpit is another excellent mean in his power: here he has every thing that can be desired,—a favourable audience capable of discerning the merits of a cause:—he need not fear any interruption;—there is no one to prepossess the people on the contrary side;—he can bring every bad opinion into the field at his leisure, and overthrow it with security. By such conduct, he will really act beneficially to the public, and lead younger minds into the paths of truth: but by the virulence of invective which he uses, he is not likely to recover those who are tainted, and renders others suspicious that where there is so much scolding, there is little ground for solid argument.

Church and King. A thanksgiving Sermon for the 29th of May. Written in Defence of our happy Constitution in Church and State. By Pasquin Shaveblock, Esq. Shaver Extraordinary. 8vo. 1s. Parsons. 1795.

This is an ironical attack upon the political connexion betwixt the church and the state. The author appears well acquainted with his subject, although some of his remarks, *mutato nomine*, might be very successfully turned against himself.

An Essay on the Reigning Vices and Follies of Mankind, and the Causes of National Danger and Calamity, deduced from Historical Evidence. To which are added, Succinct Observations on the Happiness and Tranquillity that would ultimately result from a due Regard to the Principles of Virtue and Religion. By Thomas Carpenter. 8vo. 1s. Allen and West. 1795.

Much novelty cannot be expected in an essay of this kind: yet the good intentions of every author must be commended, who endeavours to give strength to the influence of religion and morals. His view is to expose the prevailing vices of the present age,—to demonstrate, from historical testimony, the interposition of an overruling providence, with respect to this lower world, and the calamities peculiar to nations,—as well as to enforce and recommend those duties which all men owe to themselves, to their nation, and to their God.

The Moral Law considered as a Rule of Life to Believers. Designed as an Antidote to Antinomianism. By Samuel Burder. 12mo, 1s. Button. 1795.

The disputes on the subject of law and grace were formerly more frequent than at present; and, as in many other cases, a good definition of the terms might probably put an end to the contest. A true Christian must allow, both from his own conviction and the words of our Saviour, that to possess that character, he must obey the commands of his Saviour. Ye are my disciples (says Christ), if ye do what I command you. A dispute therefore, on the nature of obedience to the old law is of little consequence; for, perhaps there cannot be a subject introduced in morals, on which the Christian has not a complete rule of action in the words of his Saviour. The old law is generally divided into three parts—the moral, the judicial, and the ritual. The judicial and the ritual, all allow, are no longer binding upon Christians; for they were evidently designed for the use of a peculiar people; the moral law, it is contended, is binding upon all; yet the advocates for this obligation should point out exactly what they mean by the moral law; and shew also, that any part of it has been omitted by our Saviour and his apostles. In this, our author seems deficient; and we recommend to him, in contending with Antinomians, to point out the precepts which

which they disobey on the pretence of Christian absolution, and to shew them on what grounds, on the supposition that Christ and his apostles have omitted these precepts, they are to be obeyed. Let us examine in this manner some of the laws of the decalogue. Thou shalt not commit adultery, is evidently a law to a Christian; not because God made it a law to the Jews, but because both Christ and his apostles have inculcated on Christians purity of heart, abhorrence of every species of uncleanness, the curbing of lust in general, and the necessity of being contented each man with his own wife. A true Christian knows that he ought not to steal, to murder, to bear false witness; for how would these things agree with the commands, to love our neighbours as ourselves, and to speak truth, every man with his neighbour? It seems then that the Antinomian contest is very properly sinking into obscurity. The Antinomians, if they are Christians, cannot live in the habitual disregard of the moral law: for every thing that is important in it, receives reiterated sanctions from the precepts of Christ and his apostles; if the Antinomian will disobey their precepts, it is in vain to call out to him to regard the laws of Moses.

A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, who departed this Life, Oct. 22. 1793, in the 49th Year of her Age. With a Short Account of her Life, and a Description of her Character. By D. Taylor. 12mo. 6d. Marfom. 1794.

Accommodated to the taste of those whose devotion is of a more gloomy cast, than is to be found, except among the methodists, or the dissenters of the *old school*. As the author, however, appears to be a pious and well meaning man, we would recommend to him to acquire more cheerful and less confused ideas of the goodness and wisdom, the justice and mercy of a supreme Being.

The Consistent Christian, or Truth, Peace, Holiness, Unanimity, Steadfastness, and Zeal, recommended to all Professors of Christianity: the substance of Five Sermons. By D. Taylor. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Button. 1794.

We do not see the force of the title given to these practical discourses, which contain the usual advice, and the usual quotations from scripture, which result from the subjects chosen by the minister. The title of the Consistent Christian seems as applicable to any other collection of sermons. The reader may, from the nature of the subjects, find much room for serious reflection; and they are written in a plain manner without any attempt at elegance of style or other beauties of composition. In general, each subject is worn threadbare, and the manner of treating it manifests a pious disposition in the minister, and an earnestness for the spiritual welfare and good conduct of his hearers. If he continues in the same line of teaching, his flock may sit under him with edification;

cation; but his labours will succeed better in the pulpit than in the press.

A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge. May 29, 1795. By Edward Pearson, B. D. &c. 8vo. Lunn, Cambridge.

The intent of the sermon is to prove the necessity of moderation, and the danger of change in political transactions. From a view of the patriarchal and Jewish institutions, God is said to have accommodated his government to existing circumstances; and thence the same prudence is inculcated in those who hold the reins of government, or aim at innovations in the state. The danger of sudden alterations is shewn from the misconduct of the reformers in the times of Henry VIIIth. and Edward VIth. from the excesses which preceded the restoration of Charles II. and from the present state of affairs in France. Hence, to increase the real liberty of the world, the advocates for it are exhorted to employ their exertions among the people, in enabling them 'to bear more, rather than in pursuing measures to give them more before they can easily bear it,'—to instruct them in morality, not in the discussion of questions of government,—and, instead of distributing writings of a merely political nature among them, to pursue Mrs. Hannah More's plan of inculcating the general principles of reason and religion, which we understand is very laudably done in little ballads and penny-pamphlets.

There is so much obscurity in this discourse, that we find it difficult to say precisely, what conduct the author would wish us to pursue if the movements in a state required active exertions. Our first religious reformers are deservedly blamed: but the reformation was placed, it is said, by Elizabeth, on the firm foundation on which, without being perfect, it has yet long and happily rested. We should be glad to have a positive answer from this preacher, whether he can himself produce a plan, or would adopt any one plan whatever produced by another, to bring the church nearer to perfection. We ask this question, because we find ourselves really at a loss to know what preachers, like our author, intend by their round about way of expressing themselves. Again, speaking of the French, our preacher tells us that they are not yet arrived at that period of improvement 'when they can safely dispense, I do not say with a monarchy, but with a form of government having all the strength of a monarchy, and that not very much limited by restrictions.' What does the preacher mean? Is he a republican in disguise, and wishing for the return of the Roberspierre system,—the system of terror, which had all the strength of a monarchy, and not much limited by restrictions?

But we will not pursue this subject further, though several similar instances of affected obscurity appear in this small discourse; and

and we recommend to the preacher to consider that the times do not admit of this mode of dancing the hay about questions of the utmost importance to society, and that plainness and sincerity are the best ornaments of the pulpit.

M I S C E L L A N E O U S.

Interesting Letters on the French Revolution, extracted from the celebrated Works of Mr. Malouet, Member of the Constituent Assembly of 1789: Translated from the French, by William Clarke, late Professor of the French Language, and Belles Lettres, in the College of Alais in Languedoc. 8vo. 3s. Debrett. 1795.

Mr. Clark informs us that these extracts and letters are translated from the third volume of the *Opinions of Mr. Malouet*, a collection of which was published in France, in the year 1792, and that he has made the present selection, with a view to oppose the sophistical doctrines of our innovators, and to shew the absurdity of their attachment to the most dangerous of all political systems, the democracy of France. Mr. Malouet was a member of the constituent assembly of France. He went with them as far as regarded the correction of abuses, and the establishment of rational liberty; but he was a friend to the monarchical system, and consequently strenuously opposed those decrees which took from the king all that could be called *independent* power, and left him in possession of a *suspensive veto*, which, if he did not exercise it, was nothing, and, if he did, must terminate as it did, in the destruction of the monarchy. These letters and speeches are directed, accordingly, to the preservation of the liberty gained by the French people, united at the same time with a limited and independent monarchy, as a balance to the other powers of the state. What he advances on the expediency of a monarchy thus constituted, may perhaps be familiar to our readers, as the same arguments have been advanced in a variety of publications; but that M. Malouet understood the true political interests of France, will appear from the following extract of a letter addressed to two emigrant friends.

‘ The French revolution has been ripening apace for these thirty years past. Nothing less than a total change in your manners, your books and your government could have prevented it. If prudence had subjected it to the direction of worthy and just men, there would have been no necessity for emigration: you would have been reformed without commotion, you would have arrived at a happy and equitable government without traversing the frightful chaos of anarchy. For, notwithstanding the impetuosity and corruption of the people, they are susceptible of good as well as of vicious impressions. The reign of our monarch was never tarnished by one single act of tyranny. His greatest solicitude has been

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to alleviate the ills of humanity, and redress the grievances of the people.

‘ But you are doomed to serve as a lesson of admonition to other nations. Your power resembled the statue erected on a pedestal of clay : a fallacious and destructive philosophy had sapped its foundation : perverse and inconsiderate children began to cast stones at the colossus, and it tumbled to the ground.

‘ Your cause is said to be that of kings and nobility, but is it not also that of the people, that of humanity at large ? Kings and nobility are nothing without the arms of the people. The immense forces of whom they disposed at pleasure, and from whom they received implicit obedience, are now become acquainted with their own strength. An immense people can only exist as a nation by being united in different social bodies.

‘ Self-interest and the abuse of knowledge have dispersed these bodies in France : independence and equality, brandishing a two-edged sword, march with gigantic strides from one corner of the nation to another, and threaten destruction not only to France, but to all Europe. Once more, let me invite you to reflect maturely on your position. Do not hope that you will succeed in re-establishing the nobility, the throne, and the altar, by the force of your arms and the arguments of your ancestors. No, remember that the children who threw stones at the statue are now become formidable giants.

‘ Can you reasonably hope to rally under your banners, men who have neither titles nor distinctions to defend, who are no longer awed by the splendor of the great, and for whom these titles and distinctions have long been the objects of jealousy ? Can you reasonably hope, in the present crisis, to find soldiers who will still consent to be the passive instruments of vanity ? The necessity of hierarchy results solely from the inviolable right of property. Let the right of property, then, be your point of re-union. A remedy for the troubles and anarchy which devast your country, must be sought for in the medium between ancient simplicity and the depravity of the present age, between the errors of our fore-fathers and the modern abuses and false application of truths. The banners of pure, but severe reason must henceforth be the banners of every government. It is in vain you assemble the wreck of your forces on a strange territory, it is in vain you form an alliance with other nations, if you do not first begin by offering a solemn and political sacrifice to equity, to the spirit of the times, and even to the passions of your contemporaries. You must avenge injuries by forgetting them : you must renounce interests which are peculiar to yourselves, in order to secure one great interest, which is equally important to every nation. Why will you fight in defence of the flowers which adorn your garden, while you expose your fields to ruin and devastation ? You dispute on the modes of government, while every legal authority

Authority is in peril. These reflections are addressed, not only to you, but to all the princes in Europe. The clouds which imbosom the tremendous storm, are not confined to the vicinity of their camps alone; they are gathering, with the rapidity of thought, over the plains, on the mountains, on every point of the horizon: the clubs serve as conductors to the electric matter, the insurrection of the troops are its dreadful explosion.

By your divisions, your jealousies, and your want of a well concerted plan, you are become enemies of the revolution without means of resistance. Your mode of defence has been just what was necessary for causing you to be attacked with greater advantage by men who are strangers to every sentiment of justice and generosity. How bitter are the fruits of this inexplicable conduct! If you wish to put an end to your calamities, unite yourselves, as simple proprietors, with all the proprietors of France, and of Europe; for a delirious democracy threatens, not only the subversion of all orders, but the total destruction of the rights of property.

Let all the governments of Europe join in a solemn declaration, to punish the violation of the rights of property; but at the same time, let them acknowledge the liberty of the people, their right to protection and justice.

Yes, the rights of the people! there are no other means left to silence the ring-leaders of faction, and repress the plunderers: any other league of the foreign powers would expose them to the same anarchy which now preys on the vitals of our bleeding country. Nothing would be more favorable to the system of our demagogues, nothing would throw a greater odium on the classes which they have proscribed, nothing would give them more influence over the minds of a deluded people, than a declaration of war against France, by the Germanic bodies, in order to recover the feudal rights of some of their princes. Whatever reason you may have for resentment, if you join with strangers in a political war against your country, you cease to be citizens of France.

Let your vengeance be directed against those only who are the authors of your misfortunes; let your cause be that of all the proprietors of France, let your interest be inseparably connected with theirs.

The foreign powers, whose aid you invoke, are themselves in the most imminent danger. The devouring flames which have consumed your habitations are ready to envelope them on their throne. Neither their crooked politics, nor the force of their arms can save them from the impending storm. The only insurmountable rampart which they can erect for their safety, is a joint and solemn declaration of the rights of the people; not such as are held forth in the clamorous tribunes of Paris, but such as reason approves, and the general interest of society demands. The right of assenting to the laws and taxes, belongs to all the proprietors, and

and to them alone. The end proposed by the exercise of this right is, the preservation of property, of liberty, of morality, of public worship and of government. Whatever individual, whatever society denies these principles, is the enemy of humanity. If the European diet rests its public force on this basis, we shall no longer see a great nation tyrannised by libellers, hireling-capuchins, and petty-fogging attorneys.' P. 43.

The reader will find equal good sense and close reasoning in the other extracts given in this publication. M. Malouet appears to have been one of the most enlightened members of the constituent assembly, and a man of integrity.

The translator has prefixed a short sketch of the origin of the revolution, in which he judiciously points out the errors which destroyed the first constitution.

The Book : or, Continuation of the Moral World. Vol. V. 12mo. sewed. 3s. 6d. Ridgway. 1793.

A bold attempt at indecent ribaldry, blasphemy, and immorality. —The author, in kindness to his readers, has ingeniously contrived to mingle another quality which operates as a complete antidote to the poison. He is perfectly unintelligible.

An Easy, Short, and Systematical Introduction to the English Grammar. 12mo. 9d. Boosey. 1795.

An elementary tract, simple and easy, but not superior in its advantages to many late publications of the kind, unless its cheapness be regarded.

Additions to the History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies : By Bryan Edwards, Esq. 4to. 10s. 6d. Stockdale. 1794.

These additions consist principally of a few notes and illustrations, a set of maps, and seven plates, illustrative of the work, and a preface, in which Mr. Edwards renews his opinions on some commercial points, and particularly the restrictive system, to destroy which a bill was brought into parliament, in 1782, by Mr. Pitt, but rejected. Had it passed into a law, it would have probably saved the lives of 15,000 unoffending negroes, who miserably perished by famine. We have in this preface, also, an account of a new species of sugar-cane introduced into the West Indies, by sir John Laforey. For a full account of the first edition of this history, see Crit. Rev. New Arr. April and May, 1794.

Grammatical Tables of the Latin Language : whereby a Scholar may be taught to apply an Example to every Rule in the Grammar, every Month. 4to. 1s. 6d. Johnson. 1794.

The mode of teaching the Latin tongue has by many been thought circuitous. Several schemes have been proposed to lighten the labour of the teacher, and to expedite the progress of the scholar.

scholar. Mr. Locke proposed one in his *Conduct of the Human Understanding*, and gave an edition of a Latin classic, conformable to his own notion of the best mean of facilitating the knowledge of the language.

The present book of grammatical tables was invented by a person who wished to communicate to his sons an accurate knowledge of the Latin grammar, but whose profession and engagements did not leave him sufficient leisure to complete his wishes. He therefore proposed the following method, which, on the first experiment, he found so successful, as to encourage the trial of it in a public school. The class of scholars, on whom the trial was made, was pretty numerous; and the introduction of the tables was found practicable and useful.

These pages only contain the grammatical tables, and a short preface. The tables are five in number, and go in the following order:—I. Declensions of substantives, adjectives, and pronouns:—II. Genders of substantives and adjectives:—III. Heteroclitics:—IV. Preterperfects and supines:—V. Syntax.

The grammar, proposed to be adopted, is that which is most generally in use,—viz. the *Eton*. The author proposes that a copy of it should be marked with numbers corresponding to the numbers in the tables. The examples, by this mean, he thinks, might be applied with greater facility.

The method here recommended appears judicious, and would be attended with many advantages; but as the preface gives a short view of the author's scheme, and as he has formed the same judgment on its advantages as we have ourselves formed, we shall let the author speak for himself.

‘Before any example be written into the tables, the whole rule to which it belongs is to be repeated, and with perfect accuracy. If all the tables could be completely filled, the whole grammar would be repeated every month.

‘In the table of preterperfects and supines, one line is appropriated for examples of the rule, and another for the exceptions; but a single instance of either may be sufficient, if the whole rule thence obtain a monthly repetition. Before the examples are inserted into their table, both the rules for the preterperfects and for the supines are to be rehearsed. It might perhaps be an improvement, if the examples were to be written as at table IV. 1. *necare, ni, ctum*, with an ✕ over the supine, which denotes that it is an exception to the general rule respecting the supine. By this method, the exceptions to the rules for supines would be more distinctly noted.

As a young scholar may not always be able to select proper examples for himself, the master's aid may at first be required to supply them. But to excite attention and emulation, it may be useful to distinguish, by an asterisk, those examples which the learner had discovered. When he is more advanced in grammatical knowledge,

ledge, the distinction of an asterisk will be superfluous, as no examples ought then to be inserted, except they are applied by himself.

‘The tables will afford opportunities of gradual improvement. As soon as a boy has acquired any knowledge of grammar, he will be able to apply it to some examples. And, on the other hand, completely to fill the tables, will require the skill and sagacity of a good scholar. Of common examples, only one is to be written into the tables every month; but of scarce examples a greater latitude may be allowed. Wherever there are deficiencies in the table of past months, they ought always to be supplied as proper instances occur: and when these are full, they may be anticipated for a few future months.

‘The examples may be collected in various methods, as the master may find most convenient. They may be brought up with the lesson ready written on a scrap of paper, and, when approved, may thence be transferred into the tables; or they may be made a separate exercise.

‘On this plan the common rules will soon be rendered easy and familiar: and the more uncommon will be brought forward, so as to impress the reader’s memory distinctly and durably. The learner will be thus induced to examine, with solicitous attention, the grammatical government of every sentence; especially if there be offered some honourable competition among class-fellows for the best collection of examples. A boy who has filled these tables for a few years out of his own reading of Latin authors must be a complete grammarian; but if, as may be expected, several vacancies shall remain at the end of the year, these will be all discovered at one view, and the learner’s attention will thus be plainly directed to the points where his knowledge is most defective.’ P. 1.

An Elementary Introduction to the Latin Grammar, with Practical Exercises, after a new and easy Method, adapted to the Capacities of Young Beginners. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Booley. 1795.

When persons profess to adapt their works to the capacity of young beginners, we expect that they should have studied this capacity, and thus avoid every mode of expression which may be too difficult for them. It is obvious at the same time, that the strictest propriety must be observed in definitions, and every thing must be simplified as much as possible. These rules do not seem to have entered into the plan of the author before us. In his first page he tells the young beginner that a word is the smallest part of speech, which is in itself significant; but, what speech is, the beginner has not been told; and consequently, as he knows that there are many thousand words in his own language, he must conclude that there are many thousand parts of speech. In the next page however, he is told, that there are eight kinds of words, and these kinds are called

ed parts of speech:—how is a young beginner to understand this? and indeed it is probable that the teacher never thought of this difficulty, nor ever ask'd himself seriously the question, whether a word is or is not a part of speech: and notwithstanding the usual mode of beginning grammar, we shall not scruple to recommend to this author and our readers in general, to reflect on the propriety or impropriety of calling a word a part of speech, and dividing speech into eight kinds of words. At any rate our author should have told us, what he meant by speech: and we then would have entered into the discussion with him, whether speech has or has not the eight parts which he chooseth to assign to it.

A young beginner will not easily understand the meaning of the word *declinable*, by the definition here given: the term *radical*, used in the definition, wants explanation, and is above his capacity. The same may be said of many other definitions. Thus we are told, that a 'preposition is a part of speech set before another word, which is its complement, and which it governs; as *ante me*, before me.' We confess ourselves to be much at a loss to understand the author's meaning, and fear that a young beginner will be in the same predicament.

Gender is defined to be the distinction of sex; and there are said to be three genders, that is, three distinctions of sex; and a noun is said to be neuter, when it is declined with the article *hoc*, as *hoc regnum*. Now the masculine gender was defined to belong to the male kind, the feminine gender to the female kind: of course the young beginner will have no doubt, that there is some distinction in things which have *hoc* before them, to make them neuter; but what this is, he is left to find out; and in the same manner the doubtful and epicene nouns equally want explanation.

The whole work abounds with similar errors, and generally treads implicitly in the footsteps of its predecessors. There is a praxis upon each rule, which is an advantage indeed above the common mode of learning grammar; but with the usual Accidence and Clarke's introduction, we conceive that a young beginner will sooner arrive at the end of his journey. The Accidence indeed, like work before us, is but little calculated for young beginners: and we wish that teachers of Latin would only observe how modern languages are taught, and thence derive some useful rules for their own practice.

A Picturesque Tour from Geneva to the Pennine Alps. Translated from the French. Folio. 5l. 5s. Bates. 1792.

The chief recommendation of this work consists in twelve exquisite views of the Alps and Glaciers, the most sublime objects in nature. They are coloured in the manner of finished drawings, and are, we suppose, executed in Switzerland: at any rate, they form a surprising contrast to the plates given in Boydell's River Thames.

C. R. N. AR. (XIV.) *August, 1795.*

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The letter-press only fills sixteen pages, and is rather calculated as a guide to the traveller, than as an interesting description. Instead of any extract from the itinerary, we shall prefer the account of the plates, as the chief object of the work.

' No. I. View of the little town of Cluse, sixty-three toises of elevation above the Lake of Geneva: It is remarkable only for its natural situation, having behind it a rock almost perpendicular, and being as it were the key to the two valleys of Cluse and Maglan. Most of the inhabitants are watch-makers.

' No. II. View of St. Martin, a small village near Salenche. The highest of the mountains in the back ground is the Mount Blanc. On the left of the picture is the valley called Monjoy, from Mons Jovis, through which is the road to the Allée Blanche, and on the right is the entrance of the valley of Passi leading to Chamouni.

' No. III. View of the skirts of the town of Valenche, and part of the valley through which the Arve runs. The mountain on the right is the Aiguille de Varans.'——' In the back ground appears the summit of the Mount Blanc, as well as the adjoining rocks, called the Aiguilles de Dru, Charmos, &c.

' No. IV. View of the little Lake of Chede, situated on an extremely elevated situation, and remarkable for the limpidity of its water, wherein the mount Blanc, and neighbouring mountains, are reflected.

' No. V. View of part of the village of Chamouni, of the river Arne, and the principal inn. In the back ground are discovered the valley of Chamouni, and the glaciers of Bossons, Taconnai, &c.

' No. VI. View of the glacier called the Mer de Glace, with the rocks that surround it. That on the right is the Aiguille de Dru; those on the left Charmos, and in the back ground the Géant and the Grand and Petite J'Orasse.

No. VII. View of the declivous glacier, called la Chute de la Mer de Glace, on the right of which is the Aiguille de Dru, and on the left Charmos. This view is taken from the summit of Lanchet.

' No. VIII. This view represents the source of the Arveron, situated below the Mer de Glace. The aperture of the grotto, from whence the Arveron issues, is sometimes an hundred feet in height, and is entirely composed of ice.

' No. IX. Is a representation of part of the village du Bois, situated on the border of the Arve. The source of the Arveron is behind the grove of firs and larches. In the back ground the Mount Blanc and the surrounding mountains are seen in profile.

' No. X. View of the small town of Evian, in the duchy of Chablais, famous for its charming situation on the borders of the lake of Geneva and its waters, which draw a number of visitors to it in summer. The distant mountains are the Jura.

' No. XI.

No. XI. View of the little town of Tonnon on the lake of Geneva, with the Carthusian convent of Ripaille, in the back ground.

No. XII. View of the mountains seen from Geneva; as the Voirons, the Saleve, the Mole, and in the back ground the high summits of the Reposoir, still overlooked by the mount Blanc and neighbouring mountains. Part of Geneva is here represented, and the Colline de Cologni, which borders the Savoy side of the lake.

So much for the subjects of the prints; but their beauty, and striking effect, surpass all description.

Review of the Lion of Old England; or, the Democracy Confounded. As it Appeared from Time to Time in a Periodical Print. With considerable Additions and Amendments, from the First Edition, by the Reviewers. Belfast. 1794.

In a preface, the reviewers address their readers as follows:

'The great effect which the Review of the Lion of Old England has had, wherever it has been read, in bringing to confusion the arrogant presumption of the democracy, has been the chief motive with the editor (by permission of the reviewers) to collect the scattered morsels, as they appeared from time to time in a periodical paper, and lay them before the public, in the form they now appear; to the end, that the reader may have an opportunity of taking a general and connected view of a subject which he has hitherto considered only by interruption and detail; and also, that those, (as some no doubt there are) who have not yet been fortunate enough to meet with this work, may be put on a footing of equality with those that have. And that there might be something new for every reader, it was the intention of the editor to have written a facetious preface, such as was befitting a facetious book.—Whether he has done so, let the candid reader judge: if he has not, it is not to be imputed to any want of good inclination; for most assuredly, if he had but half as much wit as he has inclination to be witty, the courteous reader should have little reason to complain of the spleen. But if ever the kind reader has, as possibly he may have, felt the difference between wishing to be witty and being witty, he will be the more disposed to excuse the present failure as a venial fault, and to accept the intention for the act; and to turn to the dedication which it is hoped will please him—if it does not, he may blame himself for reading it.' P. v.

These critics have by no means failed in their attempt, which was, to be witty.—The LION of Old England is supposed to comprehend twelve cantos. From the review we shall make two or three extracts, as specimens of the writers' talents, and leave the reader to form his judgment concerning the acuteness of our critics.

'Here we find the general again besriding the lion at Lincelles, a small village near Lisle, where a glorious and immortal victory was

K k 2

gained

gained by three regiments of Guards, who after 800 Dutch had attacked 4000 French, and killed all but 1000, fought the remaining 1000, and left them in possession of their post ! which occasions the following panegyrick :

‘ Let other hero’s interest pursue,
But dear bought laurels still await on you ;
Old England’s lion bold, will still disdain
To fight as others do, for fordid gain :
No warrior e’er deserved the poets song
But he who fought alike in right or wrong ;
Let other courts to wealth and power lay claim,
Honor and glory are your nobler aim,
Better for you the glory and renown
Of having storm’d a breach or sack’d a town,
Of having train’d an host of *fustian weavers* *
To turn their toes out, and to cock their beavers,
To quit their looms, and boldly to aspire,
Thanks to their hungry bellies—to stand fire.’

‘ This latter passage has been thought by some too prosaic, and to have less dignity than suits the epic strain, and the general importance of the work ; that the *oſ magna ſoniturum* is no where to be discovered in it—if it were so, let these critics remember, that *aliquando dormitat bonus Homerus* :—But certainly the objection favors of but little learning, or experience in the art of composition, as all who are skilled in it will own, that the most difficult, and almost impossible attainment, is, that of giving colour and interest to a dry plain matter of fact. At all events, the succeeding apostrophe to the Spittlefield weavers amply redeems the author from this imputation :

‘ Ye men of froth, of spittle, men of silk ;
Ye men of three parts water, one part milk ;
Ye men, who in your gloomy cellars pine,
Whilst birth-day beauties in your labours shine,
Like other worms, hid from the chearing day,
In painful toil you waste your lives away ;
Must you, poor ti’ny counterfeits engage
In all the glorious horrors of this age ?
Must you, poor starvelings too, be led afar,
To mingle with the ranks in bloody war ?’

‘ Here the author finding himself sinking into sentiments of *humanity*, incompatible with the nobler ideas of *power, war, and magnanimity*, catches himself up and proceeds :

‘ You must, vile scum, your rulers say you must,
And what your rulers say, be sure is just ;

* Manchester recruits.’

Or if you like not that, you may depart,
And to the western world convey your art.' P. 8.

In page 10, our critics take another view of the Lion of Old England—

'We now find the lion once more at sea with lord Howe, in sight of the French fleet. The various ships which compose each line, are described in a very lively manner, also the personal qualities of each commander.—We are sorry however, to find too servile an imitation of the descriptions of Virgil and Homer. After relating all the manœuvres of the particular vessels, he makes this pointed observation :

'Nought could have saved the regicides this day,
But that they happened to *get safe away* ;
And that the ships which carry these vile slaves,
Still ride triumphant on the briny waves ;
But thou, Oh gallant Howe, dost also ride,
Safe and secure upon the azure tide ;
Thou, who a *signal* vict'ry didst obtain,
Waving thy *signals* o'er the wat'ry plain,
And thus, in Neptune's empire didst give law,
Thou who canst truly say, I came, and saw.'

In canto the 10th, the lion of Old England is seen at Brighton, when a number of illustrious British heroes attacked a divine in the stage-box—

'Our readers, will, we hope, excuse our suppressing the names of the members of what the poet calls, the Heroical Association : those who are exceedingly curious, may make themselves masters of the entire work, for the moderate expence of 18 shillings British, in boards, or elegantly bound, gilt, and lettered for a guinea.—But to return to our talk—

'The following instance shews, that, next to the immortal Homer, and our own beloved Shakspeare, this poet most eminently possesses the talent of characterising the various *actores fabulae* of his piece, by peculiar and appropriate phrase.—One of the associated heroes speaks :—

'Damn his old wig, if we who are to fight !
Do never *question*, whether wrong or right,
Shall such pragmatic doctors dare to prate,
And talk with disrespect of acts of state ?
A fellow too, of a damn'd learned head ;
Has written books, forsooth, as well as read !
I would not let such miscreants *speak at all* :
I hate your scholars—Zounds ! I'd hang 'em all.
A Parson too : G—d d—n me, there's the thing—
What are *they* for, but to support the king ?

What

What has a Priest to do with right or wrong?
Let him be *loyal*, or *lie*—hold his tongue.' P. 20.

In canto 11th, Old England's lion is introduced making his will—

'We are sorry now to wound the sensibility of our readers, by informing them that the lion becomes so dangerously *indisposed*, as to think of making his will: and we lament, that the narrow limits prescribed to us, prevent our giving an exact copy of that instrument, which so far as it went, would have been a very original and valuable precedent for all *state conveyancers*, and a matter of considerable curiosity to our readers, very few of whom, perhaps, have seen a *Lion's Will*! We must, however, content ourselves, with pointing our reader's attention to the work itself; and giving them the preamble, with the substance of each particular item:

'In the name of God, Amen—I, England's lion,
Being sick at heart, and on the point of dying;
Weary of sinful and vain-glorious strife,
And all the bubbles of this mortal life;
With body ill at ease, and mind in pain,
This my last will, and testament ordain:

'He then appoints his executors, (Messrs. Pitt, Dundas, and Burke) and directs them to inter his body in Henry the seventh's chapel, Westminster-abbey, and to erect a plain and humble monument, bearing the following inscription:

'Hither, O curious stranger, turn thine eyes,
Beneath this stone Old England's lion lies:
Too long the scourge of human kind—too long
The boastful theme of many an idle song;
Too long of crafty ministers, the tool—
To say the best—a brave and gen'rous fool.' P. 29.

On the merits of this singular production which is an evident imitation of the *Rolliad*, we leave our readers to determine; but we defy the most serious to avoid an occasional smile.—Should another edition be called for, we would advise our brother critics to be more attentive in correcting the press, lest readers should have less candour than reviewers, and impute the numerous errors in the short Latin quotations, rather to ignorance than inattention.

A New System of Stenography, or Short-hand. By which Persons of all Capacities may make themselves perfect Masters of that useful and elegant Art, in a much shorter Time than by any other Treatise ever published. Particularly recommended to Gentlemen bringing up for the Bar, the Senate, or the Church. 8vo. 2s. Jordan. 1795.

The great excellence of short-hand is simplicity of characters, and ease in joining them. To have as few as possible, and abbreviations corresponding

corresponding to them, is also an essential requisite in every attempt to bring this useful art to perfection. In this attempt, the letter *c* is retained, which is useless, where there are marks for *k* and *s* and *z*. The abbreviations are made by letters in the common alphabet, which cannot be adapted to the other characters, and words thus abbreviated will take up much more time, than if written properly by the short-hand alphabet. Thus, *middle* is written with an *m* with a straight line drawn horizontally over it, and another in the same manner under it. Five strokes are used in this abbreviation, and the hand is taken off the paper twice,—than which there cannot be a greater fault in a short-hand writer. In the alphabet itself, the letter *y* is made nearly as in the common alphabet, and consequently there are two strokes in one letter, which is improper. There is a table given for the junction of letters, of which the plan is much better than the execution: for it ought to give you the mode of joining together each letter with every other in the alphabet, such that it might be found out easily by inspection. In the column where you expect at the outset to find *a* placed before every letter in succession, you find indeed *aa, ab, ac*; then this succession is interrupted, and *a* follows for the eight next letters: for three more, *a* is first, and the same confusion takes place in the junction of the other letters. The consequence is, that the scholar cannot find in this table the mode of writing *ad, ae, af, ag, ah, ai, ak, &c, bd, be* &c. and many other combinations are in the same predicament. Nothing indeed could have been easier than to avoid this fault, by observing the letter at the head of each column, and making it the first of the two letters in each square: thus the mode of combining two letters would have been easily seen. But from the appearance of the characters in the table, from the letters given in the alphabet, and from the awkwardness of the abbreviations, we see no reason to apprehend that the art of stenography will, from this work, receive much improvement.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E.

WE have seen, in one of the Magazines, a long letter from a supposed author and editor of the Annual Register, which we understand was with great propriety rejected by a most respectable journal, which we trust we shall never be so uncandid or illiberal as to regard in the light of a rival.

The letter in question respects our having intimated it as our opinion that Doddsley's, or the Old Annual Register, had changed its author since the year 1789. We protest that we conceived we were paying a compliment to the author of the preceding volumes, and that we were only stating a fact which was notorious; as we never before heard it questioned, but rather taken as a well-known circumstance in every literary circle which we have frequented.—Our business is, however, not with authors, but their performances; and we candidly submit it to any person who has observed the falling off in that publication

publication from the period in question, whether we did not suggest the very best apology that the case would admit of. We are still desirous of affording the author of the former volumes every fair means of exculpation; and perhaps the letter in question will offer a clue to unravel the difficulty. The letter intimates that the Annual Register was conducted "for some time," *wholly by one person*; and *afterwards* with "the aid of *occasional assistance*." It is evident therefore to us, either that a nominal editor *formerly* conducted the publication with *very great aid* from this "*occasional assistance*," or that *latterly* he has accepted of so large a *portion of aid* from other quarters, that very little of the matter which has disgraced the latter volumes ought in justice to be imputed to the author of the preceding.

It is not by a single insulated quotation that a change of sentiment in an author can be determined. We only request therefore, that any person who is curious enough to ascertain the fact, will take the pains to read over the account of the affairs of France in the volumes immediately preceding the year 1789, and compare them with that volume, and then determine whether we are wrong or not, in asserting "that the Annual Register at that time *changed the tone of its politics*."

If "the cankered tooth of time" did not *eat something away*, we confess we see no meaning in the quotation. But if the editor had not experienced in 1789 the loss of that "*occasional assistance*" to which he owed his former respectability, how came he to transcribe *verbatim* upwards of 50 pages from an incorrect and ill-written pamphlet, to eke out his narrative of French affairs?

Whoever may be the author and editor, will any man, who compares the later volumes with the former, venture to assert that the *publication* is now what it once was? If it will afford any satisfaction to the editor and publishers, we are entirely ready to point out the specific "*vulgarisms and blunders*," with which the last volume abounds.

One charge insidiously made against ourselves we must repel.—It is insinuated that little regard is to be paid to our judgment in this case, when it is considered *who* is the publisher of the New Annual Register.—It is very true that our journal is published through the medium of a very respectable house, which happens also to be the publisher of the New Annual Register; but we pledge ourselves to the public that no *bookseller* whatever has the smallest share or connexion in the Critical Review. Our readers will see, if they will only inspect our volume, that we are infinitely above any such influence as is insinuated: and we can prove it, that, to preserve our character and impartiality, we have resisted offers of patronage from a *much higher quarter*. We could easily retort the charge upon our adversaries, as we are well informed that the same booksellers are not only the publishers, but *proprietors*, both of the Annual Register and British Critic.



A P P E N D I X

TO THE

FOURTEENTH VOLUME

OF THE

NEW ARRANGEMENT

OF THE

CRITICAL REVIEW.

FOREIGN ARTICLES.

Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität. Herausgegeben von J. G. Herder. Dritte Sammlung—Vierte Sammlung. 8vo. Riga, 1794.

Letters for the Advancement of Humanity: published by J. G. Herder. Collections III. and IV.

MR. HERDER, who has already favoured the public with such various displays of his powers, presents it in these volumes with fresh specimens of his genius, taste, and temper. The nature of this undertaking confining him to no set form or subject, he has ample scope left in it for desultory excursion. Hence, whilst a greater variety of topics come forward than could have otherwise been looked for,—so, the observations upon them have more both of novelty and spirit.

The third volume opens with the 27th letter, and contains observations on *humanity* and its import. This subject extends itself into the two following letters, the latter of which closes with a beautiful extract from the *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*, very properly styled ‘the most humane of the Cæsars.’—The 30th letter begins with a poetical translation from *Lucretius*, upon whom high encomiums are passed for his philanthropic spirit; and from him Mr. Herder proceeds to instance the prevalence of the same property in the poetry and history of the Romans.—Letter the 31st commences with the observation, that, though the Greeks possessed no

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tones

word which answered to *humanity*, yet, as Orpheus by the tones of his lyre had of savages made men, the art which produced this effect, evinced the existence of the thing—

Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.

Thoughts on the *cultivation of the mind* amongst the Greeks, as instanced by *some of their poets and philosophers*, conclude this letter; and the next, after presenting some corollaries from what had preceded, closes with a postscript, containing a fragment of a dialogue by lord Shaftsbury; upon whom, in letter 33, some remarks are bestowed, and to them poetical passages, of the didactic kind, annexed, on the law of reason.—Letter 34th is a beautiful exemplification of the humanity of HOMER in the Iliad, which leads to a consideration of the nature of *unjust-resentment*; whence, from the lyre of Achilles, by which he sought to alleviate in himself the effects of that passion, Mr. Herder proceeds to descant on lyric composition, and music, in respect to the Roman poets; concluding with an ode of SARBIEVIUS, in the Roman manner—

‘TO WISDOM.

‘Die du, höchste Vernunft, weise die Schickung lenkst!

Wie zuweilen der Ernst deiner ur. Verfügungen

Uns ergetzet, ergetzen

So die menschliche Spiele Dich?

Mit freigebiger Hand streuest du Güter aus.

Und wir rafften sie auf, wenn sie gefallen sind

Wie die Jugend die Nüsse

Mit kurzweiligem zanke rafft.

Wer jetzt Kronen erhascht, bricht sie; wer Zepter kriegt,

Sieht sie wieder entführt, eh er sie tragen kann.

Welt! so schwankst du, zerrissen

Von den Händen der Mächtigen.

Was das geizige Glück unter die Volker theilt,

Ist ein Punktchen. O laß, Weisheit, ich sehe Dir!

Mich, indeß sie so zanken,

Mit dir lachen und fröhlich seyn.’

The 36th letter is a continuation of the fragment on the humanity of HOMER in the Iliad,—a citation of *Diderot's* observations on the simplicity of that poet, and an application of them to his humanity.—Of letter 37th, the *Emilia Galotti*, by LESSING, is the subject; together with *Diderot's* remarks on the morality of the stage.—The 38th letter contains some judicious observations on the humanity of SWIFT (with an incidental stricture on *Young*), and is closed with metrical translations from the remains of *Philemon*.—Letter 39th terminates

terminates the volume with an excellent poem of GLEIM on *Human Virtue*.

The fourth volume begins with an investigation, under the name of *Realis of Vienna*, into what constitutes national worth, and, particularly, in reference to his own country.—The writer that assumed this name was *Gabriel Wagner*, professor of philosophy at *Quedlinburg*.—Letter 41st states the principles of his *Prüfung des Europäischen Verstandes durch Weltweise Geschichte*, and his *Geheimstube oder Vellendenblätter*.—The 42d letter consists of observations upon the foregoing.—Letters 43 and 44 manifest a rich exuberance of fancy. From an imagined analogy between the human race and the vegetable, the author breaks forth in bold poetic fiction: and after a vivid assimilation to his subject of the flowers indigenous to his own soil and climate, in the former letter, he proceeds, in the latter, to those of the opposite zones.—Letter 45 is occupied by observations on poetry, as applied to natural objects, and particularly botanical. Interspersed are cursory notices of the *Idyllia of Bion*, *Moschus* and *Theocritus*,—the pastorals of *Virgil* and *Spenser*,—*Cowley's* six books on plants,—*Darwin's* Botanic Garden,—*Haller's* Alps,—the poems of *Kleist* and *Gefner*, and the *Seasons of Thomson*. The letter is closed with the following translation of *Cowley's* epitaph, which our readers may judge of from the original below *.

‘ GRABSCHRIFT EINES LEBENDEN.

‘ Hier ruht, O wandrer, under dem niedern Dach
Der Dichter COWLEY, selig-entronnen schon
Der ach wie leeren und wie eiteln
Und so entbehrlichen Menschen-mühe!

In Armuth glänzt er; aber unrümlieh nicht:
An träger Müsse will er kein Edler seyn.
Reichthümer, die der Pöbel liebet,
Hafte er stets mit der kühnsten Feindschaft.

Gib

* EPITAPH on the LIVING Author.

Here, stranger, in this humble nest,
Here, COWLEY sleeps; here lies,
‘Scap’d all the toils, that life molest,
And its superfluous joys.
Here, in no sordid poverty,
And no inglorious ease,
He braves the world, and can defy
Its frowns and flatteries.

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Gib ihm, o wander, gib dem Geschiedenen,
 Den hier ein kleiner winkel der Erde birgt,
 Und ihm genüget, Deinen Segen :
 " Leicht sei die Erde dir ! Sorg'-entladner !"
 Und streu' ihm Blumen, Rosen, die bald verblühn !
 (Ein Abgeschiedner freuet der Blumen sich !)
 Und mit dem duftensten der Kränze
 Kröne die Asche des glühnden Dichters.*

On this inscription Mr. Herder remarks, that a more feeling poet of nature, both living and dying, would say—*et ego in Arcadia !*

The 46th letter—containing a lecture on imagination (as opposed to reality) and its caprices, in individuals and nations—is in the genuine spirit of HERDER. Referring to the same subject, the next letter presents reflections on the President DE THOU, with an exquisite translation of his *Ode to TRUTH*. [See Buckley's edition of his works, tom. i. where it stands as the dedication of his history.]—The 48th letter is entitled "The Three Kinds of Thread, a Fable," and has an express reference to the terms *aristocrat* and *democrat*, which have of late been so bandied. It was perhaps suggested by the well-known "*Cloth of gold do not despise,*" &c.—Letter 49th is devoted to the life of the Duke of Burgundy, father of Louis XV. remarks on Fenelon, and an ode of Sarbievius on *the Instability of Life*.—The 50th letter contains a beautiful poem entitled *Philomela*, the thought of which was suggested by Ovid's

Flet Philomela nefas ; neque adhuc de pectore cædis
 Effluxere notæ ; signataque sanguine pluma est.

In the 51st letter we are presented with the philosophy of life. In this we confess ourselves particularly disappointed, as coming from Herder, to whatever praise it might entitle any other writer. The Postscript, commemorative of BODE, who in the close of the preceding letter had been commended for his skill in translation, is an elegant monument to his fame.—The 52d letter is employed on GORDON'S TACITUS*,—a book with

The little earth, he asks, survey :

Is he not dead, indeed ?

" Light lie that earth," good stranger, pray,

" Nor thorn upon it breed !"

With flow'rs, fit emblem of his fame,

Compass your poet round ;

With flow'rs of ev'ry fragrant name

Be his warm ashes crown'd !

* As the origin of Gordon's undertaking to translate Tacitus is not generally known, it may not be improper to add it. Amongst the political writers of his day, there was no one of whom Sir Robert Walpole stood in awe so much

with us pretty nearly forgotten. Herder expresses his wish that there were a good translation of the original, to which he thinks the German language more equal than every other: but, though not now disposed to dispute that point, we think Doctor AIKIN, out of whose hands the work with us hath lately been taken, might, if he pleased, maintain the contest, be what German soever his rival. The last letter is devoted to observations on FORSTNER's Remarks upon Tacitus*; Moser's, and other writers; with thoughts on—what is still wanted—a German history.

Though happy at all times to peruse a production of HERDER, we cannot help expressing regret that his admirable work on the *Hebrew Poetry* should still be left incomplete.

Quelques Notices pour l'Histoire, et le Recit de mes Périls depuis le 31 Mai, 1793. Jean-Baptiste Louvet, l'un des Représentans pros crits en 1793.

Narrative of the Dangers to which I have been exposed, since the 31st of May, 1793. With Historical Memorandums. By John-Baptist Louvet, One of the Representatives proscribed in 1793. Now President of the National Convention. 8vo. 6s. Sewed. Johnson. 1795.

WE have been in possession of the original of this interesting work for some time, and, in the present unprecedented dearth of foreign literary intelligence, reserved it with pleasure for our Appendix. Before the usual period of publication arrived, however, an English translation has made its appearance. As this is the case, we have thought it proper to give the two articles together:—the extracts we shall chiefly give from the English translation, as a specimen of the manner in which it is executed; and in one and two instances we mean to compare it with the French.

It is well known that M. Louvet is a member of the French convention, equally distinguished for his eloquence and his courage; and that he was one of the deputies charged with federalism by the party of Robespierre, and proscribed by that sanguinary monster. M. Louvet appears to have been of that class, which in France, previous to the revolution, was

as of Gordon; to whom, being personally unknown, that statesman procured an introduction. The conversation turned upon political subjects, and in the course of it Sir Robert took occasion to commend in strong terms, Mr. Gordon's abilities,—at the same time expressing his surprise that a writer of such talents should confine himself to the politics of the day. A translation of Tacitus was suggested, with pertinent disquisitions upon him. Gordon caught at the hint, and Walpole by this means roused him.

* Christoph. Forstneri Notæ ad C. Tacitum. Argent. 1650.

styled *Gens de Lettres*. Of the origin of his attachment to his present wife, but little is explained in the pamphlet before us:—it is said that they ‘had been in a manner brought up together; that their love was born and had grown with them;’ but while in her sixteenth year, she had been forced to marry a rich man, who carried her 100 leagues from the former place of her residence. In about six years she returned, and the mutual passion between her and the hero of these memoirs recommenced.

The private fortune of our author appears to have been very small, if any, originally; but he had written some works by which he had realised a small sum of money, and was so much a master of frugality that he had limited his annual expences to about 3*l*. which, in the country of France, was, however, equal to a much larger income in England.

‘I was with her (says M. Louvet speaking of the lady in question) 20 leagues from Paris, when the news of the taking of the Bastille reached us. I immediately received from her hands a gift, valuable in every point of view,—the three-coloured cockade.’ From this period he appears warmly to have entered into the revolution, but was nothing more than a spectator till after the affair of the 6th of October, 1789, when M. Mounier having in a virulent pamphlet accused the city of Paris indiscriminately (instead of the Orleans faction) of the crimes and horrors of that day, our author answered him in a little pamphlet entitled ‘Paris justified.’ His writings were all from this time directed to the support of the revolution.—On important occasions he attended the assemblies of his section, and sometimes spoke; for the aristocrats, his remarks, came there frequently *en force*, while there was a deficiency of patriots; but he avoided civic honours and offices, which he might easily have obtained.

One of the most important circumstances in the French revolution is the conduct of the court previous to the 10th of August: and we foresee a subject as fruitful of controversy to future historians, as the conduct of Mary queen of Scots, in the question, whether the conspiracy of that day was on the part of the court or on that of the republicans. M. Louvet may properly be considered as a partial witness; but his testimony is not to be wholly disregarded.

‘The cause of the people had been gradually deprived of most of its defenders, either by death, or by corruption. The court had gone so far as openly to conspire against the accepted constitution. All the parties who laboured to destroy it, were assured of the monarch’s support. The bicamerists of La Fayette, the priests of Abbé Maury, and the nobles of the

army

army of Condé, were equally encouraged by the distribution of money, newspapers well feed, officious *votos*, and all the most detestable manœuvres of machiavelianism. I was of the small number of hardy philosophers, who, at the end of 1791, lamented the fate of a great nation, obliged to stop midway in the career of liberty, and call itself free whilst it had still a court and a king. Too happy, however, at having seen the reform of so many ancient abuses, I had promised with sincerity, like many others, to be faithful to that castrated constitution; hoping, that time would bring on the cure of its last wounds, without convulsion, without laceration, without hemorrhage. Yes, by that being who reads the secrets of all hearts, I swear, if the court had not a thousand times, and perpetually, endeavoured to rob us of our half-liberty, I would have expected perfect freedom only from the course of time. But the conspiracy of the court became too plain to be doubted. Not content with fomenting internal revolt, it called in foreign assistance. A guilty king, in violating all his oaths, freed us from our's. He sought to bring us back to the ancient state of despotism; well, then, we would give him a republic; and, whilst our country was in such imminent danger, he must be criminal, who failed to augment the feeble band that combated for her.' p. 6.

Impressed with these sentiments, our author, on the 25th December, 1792 (it should be, we suspect, 1791) presented his 'petition against the princes' at the bar of the legislative assembly. He had been, immediately after the publication of his 'Paris justified,' elected a member of the Jacobin club, but did not speak there till January 1792, when the grand question of war was to be debated. At this time the state was divided into four factions,—that of the Feuillans, at the head of which was La Fayette, &c.—that of the Cordeliers, whose object was to dethrone the king, with a view of raising up Philip of Orleans in his stead, the apparent heads of which were Robespierre and Danton, and the secret head Marat,—that of the true Jacobins, Condorcet, Roland, Brissot, &c.—and that of the court, whose object was to employ all the other factions to crush each other, and by these means to restore the ancient regimen.

Our author's opposition to Robespierre commenced in his second speech at the Jacobins: and in revenge for this, the latter put in action 'all the bloodhounds of the Cordelier party to calumniate the new orator.' With Dumouriez, Roland, Claviere and Servan were then joined in administration, and our author was only known to them by his speech at the Jacobins; yet all the four ministers agreed in recommending him to the post of minister of justice: but this scheme was

defeated by the industry of Robespierre's party, who represented Louvet as an emigrant who was only three months returned from Coblenz. To repel this slander, he proceeded to the Jacobins, but was refused to be heard, till a friend of the name of Bois denounced him,—which compelled a hearing; and he was so successful that even the galleries, though filled with the creatures of Robespierre, at length applauded him. The appointment however (for what reason, is not specified) did not take place. At this time our author became acquainted with Roland, of whom he speaks in the following terms—

‘Lanthenas, however, carried me to the minister of the home department, who had a strong desire to be acquainted with me. O! Roland! Roland! what virtues were assassinated in thee! what virtues, what charms, what talents, in thy wife, still greater than thyself! both urged me to write in a cause, which had need of the intimate union of all, who were capable of promoting it. War was declared; the court, evidently in concert with Austria, betrayed our armies: it was necessary, that the eyes of the people should be opened to so many plots. I wrote *The Centinel*; the minister was at the expense of it. My narrow fortune would not have defrayed the publication of a journal posted up at every corner (*un journal-affiche*), of many numbers of which more than twenty thousand were printed off. They, who have studied Paris and the departments, know how serviceable *The Centinel* was to France, at a period when a foreign enemy, emboldened by interior alliances, threatened to overrun every thing.’ P. 16.

Our author was afterwards mentioned by Dumouriez, as a fit person to be appointed to the embassy at Constantinople: but his *Centinel* being very strong against the minister, the scheme seems to have been frustrated; and when Guadet and Brissot were desirous of sending him as commissioner to St. Domingo, he seems himself to have rejected the proposal. The following paragraph may be just with respect to Robespierre; but the courage of Danton we never heard before impeached.

‘At length came the insurrection of the 10th of August. What I did on that day I have elsewhere said: but I did not say, what was a fact, that I contributed to the preservation of some Swiss soldiers, whom the satellites of Orleans, that fled at the first volley, came to massacre when the combat was over. Many of these unfortunate fellows I got into the passages of the national assembly, whence they reached the diplomatic committee, in the closets of which Brissot and Gensonné concealed several. Another fact, not less noticeable, though of a different kind, is, that Danton, who had concealed himself during the battle, appeared after the victory, armed with a huge
sabre,

fabre, and marching at the head of the battalion of Marseillese, as if he had been the hero of the day. As to Robespierre, still more a coward, though not less a hypocrite, he durst not show himself for more than four and twenty hours after; yet this did not prevent his ascribing all the success to the council of the commune, whither he went to command as a despot the next day but one, namely the 12th.' P. 17.

Though we do not discover any mistranslation in this paragraph, we cannot but wish the writer had been more attentive to elegance: 'unfortunate fellows' is not a happy translation of *malheureux*:—*piquant* is badly rendered by *noticeable*. On the whole the French is so much better, that in justice to the author we will extract it—

'Vint enfin l'insurrection du 10 Août. Ce que j'ai fait dans cette journée, je l'ai dit ailleurs; mais ce que je n'ai pas dit, c'est que j'ai contribué à sauver des soldats Suisses, que les satellites de d'Orléans, qui avoient fui à la première décharge, vinrent pour massacrer quand le combat fut fini. Je fis filer plusieurs de ces malheureux dans les corridors de l'Assemblée, d'où ils passèrent au comité diplomatique, dans les armoires duquel Brissot et Genfonné en cachèrent plusieurs. Un autre fait non moins piquant dans un autre genre, c'est que Danton, qui s'étoit caché pendant le combat, parut après la victoire, armé d'un grand sabre, et marchant à la tête du bataillon des Marseillois, comme s'il eût été le héros de ce jour. Quant à Robespierre, plus lâche encore et non moins hypocrite, il n'osa se montrer que plus de vingt-quatre heures après l'affaire; ce qui ne l'empêcha pas de s'en attribuer tout le succès au conseil de la commune, où il alla commander en despote le furlendemain 12.' P. 29.

It is to be wished that M. Louvet had been more particular with respect to the business of the 2d of September. — He charges it in general terms on Robespierre and Hebert, and says the deaths of Brissot, Condorcet, Roland, &c. were all determined on by the sanguinary junto. Against the charge of federalism, our author here very ably vindicates himself and his friends.

Our author was elected one of the representatives to the convention for the department of Loiret, where he had neither friend nor correspondent. In the convention, the contest between him and Robespierre rose to the utmost height; and when the latter complained of calumny, and challenged an accuser, Louvet stood forth in that formidable character. If Pethion had not temporised, but had boldly spoken one fourth of what he knew, our author is persuaded that Robespierre and his accomplices would have been impeached upon the spot. The whole of the Gironde party, except Barbaroux, Buzot

Buzot and Lanjuinais, acted on this occasion with a culpable timidity. They thought, by passing to the order of the day, Robespierre would have remained disgraced for ever : Louvet foresaw his triumph.

• In general, it is time now to remark, amongst the victims of the 31st of May were many men distinguished for talents ; and capable of purifying the morals, regenerating the manners, and augmenting the prosperity of a republic in peace, and of deserving well of their country by their private conduct and public virtues : but there was not one of them accustomed to the tumult of factions, or calculated for those vigorous strokes, by which conspirators are beaten down ; not one, who had a mind for suspecting base designs, taking in at one comprehensive view the vast plan of a conspiracy, or combating it, if at length perceived, with other weapons than those of morality and pompous speeches. I except Salle, Buzot, and Barbaroux, who, from the beginning, knew well the Orleans faction, and united with me to oppose it on every opportunity. But the penetration of these extended no farther : there was only Salle, whom I could persuade, that England and Austria had their chief agents amongst the jacobins ; and I remember, that Guadet, Pethion, and even Barbaroux, when I said, six months after the 31st of May, that Marat and his band were certainly in the pay of the combined powers, exclaimed against it in the Gironde. Sometimes, in an indignant moment, Guadet, indeed, would say the same ; but it was metaphorically ; and assuredly he would never have suffered what he called that hypothesis, to regulate his conduct in the assembly. Honest themselves, they could not credit such crimes : and, therefore, I ceased not to warn them, that sooner or later they would be the victims of their incredulity.' P. 25.

Not being allowed to speak, Louvet published his reply to Robespierre's defence, entitled—' To Maximilian Robespierre and his Royalists.' Soon after this, Buzot and our author gave another blow to the Orleans faction, by procuring the decree for the expulsion of the Bourbons : but they experienced another in their turn ; for Robespierre and the Cordeliers had now got entire possession of the Jacobins, and our author was expelled, along with Roland, Lanthenas and some others.

On the trial of the king, Salle moved, and Louvet seconded the motion, for the appeal to the people. Soon after Dumouriez joined the Orleans faction.—Of this celebrated general our author thus expresses himself—

• Whilst I am writing, his memoirs have appeared. He there pretends to have been ever a friend to monarchy ; but I owe it to

to the cause of truth to declare, and to prove, that for a time he was a sincere republican.

‘ That he wished to preserve Lewis XVI on the throne, when, being his prime minister, he was more king than the person who bore the title, I can easily conceive; but that after the 10th of August he remained the faithful servant of a prince dethroned, I know the ambitious general too well not to assert, it is impossible. Besides, do I not know, that, after the 10th of August, Dumouriez was the first to denounce La Fayette, who made his troops take the oath of obedience to the king? Do I not know, that at this period he wrote letter after letter to the committee of twenty-one of the legislative assembly, and that thus he obtained the command in chief? Is it not known to all Europe, that, but for him, Brunswic would have been at Paris before the end of autumn? He will say, that for the honour and safety of France, a very zealous friend to monarchy might not choose, that a foreigner should give laws in it's capital, and might also have wished to retake from him Verdun and Longwi. I allow it: but were not the victory of Gemappe, the conquest of Belgium, and the projected and almost accomplished invasion of Holland, something more than constitutional acts?

‘ After having stopped, repulsed, driven before him, and almost destroyed, in one ever famous campaign, a hundred thousand veteran soldiers, the best in Europe, and commanded by one of it's most celebrated generals, with only thirty-five thousand new-raised troops; after having retaken two strong places; to vanquish the enemy at Gemappe, to conquer Belgium, and next to give the combined powers a decisive blow, by seizing the harbours and the wealth of Holland; then, with an army flushed with victory, and reinforced with sixty thousand Dutch and Brabantines, to take Cobourg in the rear, beat him, force Austria to a peace, England to silence, and all Europe to admiration; and thus to become the real founder of the French republic, and arbiter of the fate of the world; was a part grand enough to tempt the man of the greatest genius, and the most ambitious of mankind.

‘ To this Dumouriez aspired; this part Dumouriez would have acted. But the foreign faction, which feared nothing so much as him, soon perceived that a check must be given him, the inevitable effect of which would be to tumble him from his height, or compel him to flee to it. For this end Pache, then minister at war, and Hassenfratz, his chief clerk, exerted themselves to render the troops of Dumouriez in want of every thing. For this end they sent to his army as many Orleanist soldiers as possible, indefatigable in preaching plunder, and

and insubordination. For this end the council, where Roland was no longer heard but with dislike, where every one united against his too austere virtues, where Monge and Pache bore the sway, and on which Dumouriez knows well, though he takes great care not to say it, the republican party in the convention had then no influence, ravaged Belgium through the instrumentality of that *Ronsin*, that *Chepy*, that *Estienne*, and that band of commissioners of the executive power, who were secretly and particularly charged to render France, and it's pretended republican government, odious; and for this purpose to employ every kind of violence, extortion, despotism, robbery, and crime, that such villains could invent; just as certain commissioners, invested at a distance from the convention with more power than itself possessed, were charged by the same faction to render the *nominal* republic for ever detestable in the departments. It was for this end, that one of the commissioners of the convention, chosen by the then omnipotent *mountain* to repair to Belgium, was *Lacroix*; a man more capable singly of stripping the Belgians, than the whole swarm of thieves before sent by the council. It was for this end, that Marat, the principal agent of England, incessantly aspersed the character of the general, in his paper, which was daily hawked about, even under the very nose of Dumouriez; that he laboured indefatigably to deprive him of the confidence of his soldiers; and that, knowing with what snares he was surrounded, what insurmountable obstacles were thrown in his way, and what treachery was ultimately reserved for him, he *predicted* with confidence, that the general would be an emigrant before the end of spring.

‘These methods succeeded! and Dumouriez, his brilliant hopes betrayed, was not ashamed to coalesce with them, who had just ravished from him all his means of fortune and of glory, against them, to whom he owed every thing, and who, in their day of power, had done every thing to promote his success!’ p. 28.

That Dumouriez did not succeed in his enterprise against Holland, is by our author attributed to the treachery of a general Stengel, one of the Orleanists, who left a free passage to the prince of Cobourg, when it would have been easy to have stopped him. The defeat at Neerwinde is also attributed to some of the same faction, who had been purposely mixed in the army of Miranda, and who excited the cry of ‘*Sauve qui peut*.’—The translator has here omitted a note, in which the author declares his belief that Miranda was in all respects irreproachable.

On the 10th of March, (our author proceeds to state) a plan was

was formed, to which he thinks Dumouriez was privy, to assassinate all the Gironde party; and (somewhat in the style of P. P. Clerk of this Parish) M. Louvét attributes the defeat of the whole plot to the vigilance of himself and his Lodoiska—

‘ However, they had thought themselves at the outset so sure of their blow, that before midnight they had sent *officially* to declare their *insurrection* against the national representation to the municipality, which failed not to acquaint the convention with it two full hours afterwards; that is to say, when the whole, in their calculation, should have been over. Thus the conspiracy, though it proved abortive, had a sort of publicity, at least in Paris; and undoubtedly, to prevent a second attempt of the kind, supposing, which I believe was the fact, that we could not yet take vengeance on this, it was at least proper for us to give it the greatest notoriety. Such, I thought, was the intention of Vergniaud; when a score of us, being assembled the next day, to determine what should be done on the occasion, he took on himself to denounce it. Had I known in what manner he intended to execute the task, assuredly I would not have left it to him. He made a good speech, but injurious to the cause. In it he thought proper to mislead the public opinion, already very strong against the two parricidal societies, to which a spirited and frank accusation, preferred before all France at the bar of the convention, would have given a terrible blow. On the contrary, he ascribed the movement of the 10th of March to the aristocracy. It was the aristocracy, no doubt; it was royalism: but the aristocracy and royalism of the cordeliers and some jacobin leaders. This he ought to have said: this he did not say. Of course the two societies were charmed with the convenient cloak given them by Vergniaud; and when I inquired of him with astonishment the motive of such strange conduct, he told me, that he thought it highly necessary to denounce the conspiracy, without naming the real conspirators, *for fear of too much exasperating violent men, already inclined to every excess*.—Good God! such were the rules of conduct, such the mistaken cautions, that made way for the fearful success of the faction: well, had they only us, but they lost the republic!’ P. 37.

An account of this conspiracy was published at the time by our author.—He proceeds—

‘ We began to fetch breath, when a native of Bourdeaux, taken prisoner at the battle of Nerwinde, and afterwards exchanged, came to tell Guadet his friend, that, having formed an intimacy with one of the officers of the imperial army, he had learnt, that Cobourg’s staff expected two and twenty members of the convention to lose their heads before long.

Guadet related this news to me, and we laughed about it: but guess our surprize, and the reflections that followed it, when a short time after Pache came at the head of the pretended sections of Paris, to present the famous petition, which proscribed us to the number of *twenty-two*. I am persuaded, it was this irrefragable proof of the connivance between the principals of the mountain and Austria, which at length urged Guadet, naturally bold and courageous, to make that spirited declamation against Marat, which procured the famous bill of impeachment against him, and his still more famous acquittal, which ought to have opened the eyes of all France on the infamy of the revolutionary tribunal, and the faction that created it.' P. 42.

The account of the horrors of the 31st of May is written with uncommon animation. We shall extract a short paragraph both in the French and the translation—

‘ Dans la nuit du 30 au 31 Mai, l'orage s'annonçoit si violent, que la nécessité de decoucher pour la cinquantieme fois peut-être s'étoit fait sentir. Une chambre écartée, où se trouvoient trois mauvais lits, mais de bonnes armes et de bonnes dispositions pour la défense, nous reçut, Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, et moi. A trois heures du matin, le bruit du tocsin nous réveilla. A six heures, nous descendîmes bien armés. Loin du lieu des séances, nous prîmes cependant le parti de nous y rendre. Près des Thuilleries, nous traversâmes plusieurs groupes de coquins, qui, nous ayant reconnus, firent mine de nous attaquer. Ils n'y auroient pas manqué, s'ils n'avoient vu nos armes. Je me souviens que l'un d'entre nous, Rabaud-Saint-Etienne, étoit si inquiet qu'il n'auroit pas fait grande résistance. Pendant toute la route il s'écrioit, *Illa suprema dies!* hélas, je ne devois pas le revoir !

‘ Quand nous entrâmes dans la salle, trois Montagnards s'y trouvoient déjà. En montrant l'un d'eux, je dis à Guadet, Vois-tu quel horrible espoir brille sur cette figure hileuse ? Sans doute, s'écria Guadet, c'est aujourd'hui que Clodius exile Cicéron. Le Montagnard ne nous répondit que par son affreux sourire.' P. 64.

‘ On the night of the 30th of May, the storm threatened so loudly, that we felt the necessity of sleeping from home, perhaps for the fiftieth time. A remote chamber, in which were three wretched beds, but good arms, and good accommodations for defence, received Buzot, Barbaroux, Guadet, Bergoing, Rabaud-St.-Etienne, and me. At three in the morning, the

the sound of the alarm-bell awakened us. At six we quitted our apartment well armed: though distant from the place where the convention assembled, we resolved to repair thither. Near the Thuilleries we passed several knots of rascals, who, having discovered whom we were, made as if they would attack us. This they certainly would have done, had they not seen our weapons. One of us, I remember, Rabaud-St.-Etienne, was so perturbed, that he would have made little resistance. During the whole way, he was continually exclaiming, *Illa suprema dies!* [this last day!]*—*alas! I shall never behold it more*!

* When we entered the hall, we found three Mountaineers already there. Pointing at one of them, I said to Guadet, "do you observe what dreadful hopes gleam from that hideous countenance?" "Certainly:" replied Guadet: "it is Clodius banishing Cicero." The Mountaineer gave us no answer, but a horrible smile.' P. 46.

After this event, our author, and such of his friends as conceived that only the insurrection of the departments could save France, betook themselves to flight. Those who remained were, it is well known, barbarously sacrificed. It is a remarkable fact that the revolutionary committee of the commune was at this time composed almost entirely of foreigners. Gusman was a Spaniard, Dufourny an Italian, Pache a Swiss, and Marat was of Neuchatel. It was contrary to the advice of Louvet that general Wimpfen was appointed to the command of the departmental force. Were the British ministers informed of the following fact relative to M. Puyfay, when they appointed him the commander in chief of the disgraceful Quiberon expedition?

'The mountain, greatly disturbed, had at length collected in Paris eighteen hundred foot, the good wishes of at least half of which were for us, and seven or eight hundred vagabonds, as cowardly as thieves. All these had just thrown themselves into Vernon. It was not till then Wimpfen talked of attacking this city: and all at once one M. de Puyfay, who had never been heard of before, was introduced to us by the general as a true republican and able foldier. Him Wimpfen directed to attack Vernon: and undoubtedly he well followed his private instructions.

'To surprise the enemy, he marched out in broad day, with drums beating. Having exposed his soldiers all day to a fervent sun, he made them pass the night in the open air, without a single tent, though few of them had ever before slept even in a camp. The next day he wasted in the attack of a little fort, which he had the honour to carry. Then,

* Read—Alas! I was doomed never to behold him more! REV.

the enemy being thus well and duly informed in every way, to give it still more advantage, he halted at the entrance of a wood, not two miles from Vernon; laid up the cannon, as it were, one behind another, along a wall; left all the little army in the greatest disorder; did not even appoint it sentinels; and went to sleep in a cottage a mile distant. In an hour's time, a few hundred men suddenly appeared, and fired three rounds with their cannons on our men, completely surprised; but according to all appearance the guns were only loaded with powder, for all this was evidently a concerted matter of form. Be it as it may, our soldiers, who knew not with whom they had to encounter, who could scarcely find their arms, and who called in vain for their leader, were soon put to the rout. So speedy was the flight, that but for the bravest of the troops of *Ille* and *Vilaine*, who stood their ground a few moments, not a single cannon would have been brought off. However, not one man received so much as a scratch; and the enemy did not advance thirty yards, to pursue this easy victory. This prevented not Mr. de Puyfay, whom the administration of *Eure* intreated not to abandon it, from declaring that *Evreux* was not tenable; and in fact next day he retreated upwards of thirty miles, thus giving up a whole department without a single shot. P. 58.

Our author studiously represents the mountain party as in the pay of the combined powers;—an assertion which we cannot credit: at least the latter must have been completely duped if that was the case, for certainly the energy and activity of the mountain party were the grand causes of their ill-success.—His charge against Wimpfen, as being connected with the English, appears better founded. A very interesting account of Charlotte Corday is inserted in this part of the narrative.—To the activity of Hebert, M. Louvet attributes much of the success of the mountain. The distresses of the fugitive deputies are thus summed up by our author in few words—

‘Amidst the horrors of gloomy nights and stormy skies, exhausted with fatigue, having wandered all day in the woods without respite, famished with hunger, raging with thirst, nothing was left us to supply our continually renewing wants, or defend us from assassins, but our courage, our innocence, a remnant of hope, and the miracles of an evidently protecting Providence. We shall see friends, savage through cowardice, refuse to know their friend. For me was reserved this trial, the most painful of all I have undergone! Wretched man! friends of twenty years proof will drive thee from their door; will drive thee back even to the feet of the scaffold. I had seen men in a body in their public life, and had detested them: I had reason to know them too well individually in their private life,

life, and hatred was succeeded by contempt. Since, even in a country which I thought about to be regenerated, the good are so pusillanimous and the wicked so violent, it is clear, that every aggregate of men, pompously called *people* by fools like me, is in reality but a feeble herd, happy to crouch to a master. Whether it be a Robespierre or a Massaniello, a Marat or a Nero, a Caligula or a Châlier, a Hébert or a Pitt, a Cartouch even or an Alexander, a Desfrues or an Orleans, what matters it? Every villain, if he be ambitious, and circumstances push him on, may come to be what is called a great man: only sometimes the most able is precipitated from the height into the abyss below, whilst to reign is to be most miserable.' P. 73.

In a note, we find the little advantage resulting from the enjoyment of power which has been obtained by wicked means—

'Cromwell, whom Robespierre resembled so strongly, except in talents; who, naturally cruel and irreligious, affected, with double hypocrisy, to be inclined to clemency and zealous in the cause of God; was no sooner on the throne, than he fancied himself continually surrounded with assassins. He trusted not to his own guards. By day he carried pistols in his pocket, and at night he placed them under his pillow. He scarcely dared to eat: to sleep he was a stranger. Every night he changed his apartment and his bed. Who would not prefer death to a crown at such a price? Many cowardly villains, no doubt: but could we deem them fortunate in obtaining it? Is it not more than probable, that even for them it would be better to die?' P. 74.

The detail of our author's sufferings, though extremely interesting, would greatly exceed our limits. At Vire he was joined by his wife, to whom, in somewhat of the romantic style, he gives the name of his Lodoiska. From this place they proceeded to Dol, accompanied by 800 of the Breton soldiers who still remained faithful: but there the magistrates refused to receive them. At Dinan they met with a very different reception, and were cordially entertained; but, contrary to the entreaties of the still faithful battalion of Bretons, the outlawed deputies determined to separate here, and proceed towards Quimper by cross roads, disguised as volunteers. They had 100 miles to travel through bad roads in three days. They were nineteen in number viz. our author, Pethion, Barbaroux, Salle, Buzot, Cuffy, Le Sage of Eure and Loire, Bergoing, Giroust, Meillant, Girey-Dupré, Riouffe, six of the Bretons as guides, and the servant of Buzot. Their adventures and escapes would form a good subject for a romance. In the neighbourhood of Rotternheim they were surprised at one in the morning by a magistrate attended by fifty infantry, some

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cavalry, and a brigade of gens-d'armes ; but, by their courage and address, escaped. At Quimper they separated, and were lodged with different friends. From this place, nine of the unfortunate members of the Gironde party, Cussy, Duchatel, Bois-Guyon, Girey-Dupré, Salle, Meillant, Bergoing, Marchena, and Riouffe, set off in a small vessel for Bourdeaux prepared by Duchatel, and were all taken.

In the mean time Louvet, in his retreat at the house of a national guard, where he eluded the domiciliary visits by the care and address of his host, learned the news of the surrender of Toulon to the English, which he strangely attributes to a manœuvre of the mountain party—

‘ It was the interest of the English to keep their promise, *not to put a sufficient garrison in Toulon*, and to permit it to be retaken : and when the English nation with astonishment demanded the motives, that could determine it’s general to lose Toulon, Pitt answered, that *sound policy required it*. The same *sound policy*, much about the same time, granted the victories of Dunkirk and Maubeuge to pretended republican generals, under the war ministry of the first clerk Vincent, the accuser of the unfortunate Custine. The same *sound policy* suddenly struck motionless the victorious army of Cobourg, which, having cut to pieces all the garrison of Cambray, might have rendered itself master of the place ; yet remained a quiet spectator of the civil war now begun, fully resolved to do nothing, if the mountain should remain triumphant, but to rush on like a torrent, should the republicans prove victorious. In fine, it was the same *sound policy*, which permitted Hoche to retake the lines of Wissembourg ; Hoche, now known for an agent of Marat, and consequently of the combined powers ; that general Hoche, who was in fact a violent jacobin.’ P. 120.

Our author at last took his departure in a small vessel for Bourdeaux, with Guadet, Pethion, Buzot and Barbaroux. At Bourdeaux the frankness of Guadet in openly telling his name at the inn, involved them in fresh troubles. The alarm was raised, and not a single person in the neighbourhood would afford them an asylum. Here then they were once more obliged to separate, and Barbaroux, Valady, and Louvet, took the desperate resolution of proceeding to Paris. In their way they knocked at the door of a parsonage house—

‘ A worthy clergyman came to open the door to us. We professed ourselves to be travellers, who had lost our way. “ Confess,” said he, “ that you are good men suffering persecution, and under that title accept the accommodations of my house for four and twenty hours ; would I could welcome
more

more frequently, and for a longer term, some of the innocent victims of unjust pursuit !”

‘ In what words shall I relate how much we were affected by this reception ! It demanded entire confidence, and it obtained it. At the name of Barbaroux, and at mine, the good man rushed into our arms, and shed over us tears of joy. We, too, melted into tears. Providence had led us, as it were, by the hand to one of those rare mortals, with whom Guadet had imagined his department filled.

‘ The next morning he told us, that we might remain two or three days longer without risk ; and that he would endeavour, the mean while, to find us some safe retreat. At the expiration of this term, he suffered only Valady’s friend to depart, who thought he could easily reach the environs of Perigueux, where he had a relation, who could not fail of receiving him, and who no doubt would send for Valady. My thoughts were still bent on Paris ; and I would fain have accompanied him, who was going forty miles nearer to it. The parson dissuaded me : Barbaroux fell at my knees to prevent me. O Lodoiska, to them thou owest the preservation of thy husband : for we soon after heard, that he, whom I would have accompanied, was quickly arrested.

‘ Our generous host kept us yet two days, though it began to be rumoured in the village, that somebody was concealed at the parson’s. At length he conducted us to the house of a little farmer, who gave us a kind reception ; but his wife was alarmed, at least such was the reason he gave the next day, when he told us we must not think of staying with him. Our good parson came for us, and, unable to do better, led us to a hayloft over a stable, adjoining to a farm house, in which were sixteen persons. Two of these only were in the secret ; the rest were going backwards and forwards to the stable all the day, and sometimes mounted the ladder to look at the hay, in which each of us had made himself a hole ; and in these holes we were forced to remain, buried even over our very heads. The hay was new, and consequently heated : the loft was so full, that it left scarcely a space two feet high for the air ; and this was admitted only through a very small window. To increase our sufferings, the weather, though in the month of October, was hot and dry, and our two confidants were sent suddenly to a distance on some business, without being able to give us notice of it. Their absence continued three days. For eight and forty hours we were totally destitute of the coarse fare and small wine, they were accustomed to convey to us by stealth. The extreme lassitude, dreadful head-ach, frequent faintings, burning thirst, and general agony, we experienced, are indecipherable. Once my

fortitude failed, and the courage of Barbaroux deserted him. I had taken hold of one of my pistols, and looked at him with a languid smile: he imitated my example. We were both silent; but with our eyes we took fatal counsel together: one of my hands fell on his: he pressed it with a sort of fury, similar to that which inspired me. The moment of despair was come: the signal of death was on the point of being given. Attentive to our motions, Valady cried "Barbaroux! you have yet a mother! Louvet! think of Lodoiska!" The sudden revolution produced by these words is inconceivable. Our fury subsided into tenderness: our weapons dropped from our hands: our enfeebled bodies sunk down: we mingled our tears together.

But this sudden change produced another. "Lodoiska expects me:" exclaimed I: "What am I doing here? Why do I here submit to so many humiliations, sufferings, and dangers? If it be indeed for her, remaining here will not end them. It is on the road to Paris I ought to encounter perils, and endure hardships. This very evening will I be on that road." That very evening! Madman! In one of our recent nocturnal excursions, I had fallen into a ditch, which I did not perceive: by this fall the tendons of my ham had been considerably injured. During our six days confinement, the absolute inaction to which we were reduced, the heat of the hay in which we were confined, anxiety, and wearisomeness, had combined to increase the misfortune: on attempting to lift up my leg, it gave me severe pain; and my ham was become so rigid, as to be altogether incapable of flexion. Thanks to thee, Providence! by whom I was thus compelled to remain.

The next night at ten o'clock, when every one in the farm seemed asleep, except the faithful dog, whose barking allowed us no rest; we thought we heard round the house a noise, like that of several men walking softly and speaking low: a few minutes after we saw a great light in the stable, where none had ever been perceived before: at first some voices were heard in it of persons speaking very cautiously; then a profound silence followed: presently the sound recommenced without; and at last we heard some one ascending our ladder. Were we discovered? Was the stable surrounded? We seized our weapons.

A man, without quitting the ladder, or coming near us, cried, "gentlemen, come down." It was one of our confidants belonging to the farm: but he spoke not in his usual tone, his voice was altered, hoarse, and surly. This circumstance alarmed us more than any thing else. "What? come down?" said I to him.—"Yes, come down."—"And Why?"—"Because you must."—"But why?"—"Somebody wants you."—"Who."—"The parson's kinsman."—"If it be the kinsman

kinsman of the parson, why does he not make his appearance?" Here the man muttered out I know not what silly reason, and added with a brutal and threatening voice, "After all, blackguards [f——], you must come down."

This had a very threatening aspect. The imagination works quickly. I instantly persuaded myself, that some person had discovered and informed against us; that people had been sent to search the house; and that they had threatened the poor fellow to set fire to his hayloft, if he did not make us come down. Barbaroux had, no doubt, the same thought, for he whispered me, "They shall not catch me alive!" and Valady, whose courage was so depressed by fatigue and an incipient disease, that twenty times in the day he had confessed himself seized with panic fears, and mortal anxiety at the idea of death, so that he could never have the resolution to put an end to his own existence; now imagining the fatal hour arrived, said faintly to us, "Alas! then, we must die!" and perceiving our preparations, he added, taking us by the hand, "O my friends! are you going to leave me?" For my part, never did I think my death so near, in any of the most critical junctures of my proscription, except once afterwards at the gates of Orleans.

"Citizen," said I to the man, with a firm voice, "we are far from desiring to involve you in any trouble; yet do not think to draw us into any snare: we certainly will not come down, till the kinsman of the parson makes his appearance, or you frankly tell us what is your purpose."

Forgive me reader, if I have made you feel any of the apprehensions, with which our minds were tortured. Forgive me, for it was nothing: nothing save a little pusillanimity in him, who was sent by our good friend the parson, and the cruel necessity of recommencing our travels. At length the parson's kinsman appeared. He had refrained from entering, for fear of being perceived by some one belonging to the farm. It seems one of the farmer's men, having heard some noise in the hayloft, had hinted his suspicions; so that in the course of another day it was probable we might be discovered by a man, from whom we had every thing to apprehend. Our two confidants, alarmed at this, had gone to tell the clergyman, that he must take us away immediately. The information arrived so late, he knew not how to dispose of us. With him we should run more hazard than any where; as information had just been given, that he had some one concealed in his house. Instantly he ran to seek out some hiding place for us: and in the mean time, to set the farmer at rest, who was thoroughly frightened, it was necessary to quit the hayloft, and pass the night how we could.' p. 139.

Unable otherwise to effect their deliverance, the excellent priest once more received them into a cock-loft in his own house. From this place they went to join Guadet and Salle at the habitation of a female patriot, where they were lodged underground; and soon after Pethion and Buzot reached the same asylum, where they all, seven in number, remained a whole month. They separated again; Guadet, Salle, and our author, proceeded for Paris, but encountered a shocking instance of ingratitude in a female who was indebted for every thing to the former. Here then, in a horrid night, our author parted from his friends in the desperate design of reaching Paris. His adventures in this hazardous journey are truly interesting. Chance brought him acquainted with a friendly carrier, whose attachment is equal to any thing recorded of the 'days of chivalry.' This man committed our author to the care of another of the same profession: and the following is a single instance of his miraculous escapes—

'At length we departed. We were passing the barrier of the bridge, when we were stopped. "Our passports have been seen:" said the cavalier. "That is not the point in question:" said the officer on guard: "let every one alight." "For what?" asked the tradesman's wife.—"Let every one alight:" repeated he, in a more imperious tone.

'The order must be obeyed. The men set the example. "This is not enough:" cried the officer: "the women must alight too; there are men, who can easily put on women's clothes."—"I assure you their passports have been seen every where, and are perfectly according to form;" said the carrier: but the poor fellow's voice was already changed. How I pitied him! how I reproached myself, for having brought him into this scrape. The officer replied: "who says any thing to you about passports? I do not want passports: I must see faces. We know, what you do not." And for the third time he exclaimed, but now in a threatening voice, "let every one alight." To this, after a moment's reflection, he added, "let nobody stay up; I give you warning, I shall look in. You women, there! you women!"

'For this time I thought my labours would soon be at an end. Apparently I had been recognised somewhere: I had been denounced: and no doubt I was expected. Yet should I not do well to appear, on account of all these honest people? This thought no sooner entered my head, than it vanished: for how would my discovering myself benefit them? Would they have been less culpable in the eyes of my persecutors, because they had failed of conveying me to Paris? The adventurous undertaking was so far advanced, that, even for their sakes, I ought patiently to await the end.

'The

'The women, who alighted, in carrying away their useful petticoats, had left half my body uncovered. Quickly, but without noise, I threw over my legs and belly a little straw, and the great coat which the cavalier left behind. I then pulled over my head and breast, in the best manner I could, the bundles and band-boxes, under which they had before been buried. This done, I quietly drew my pistol out of my bosom, where I constantly kept it, and placed the muzzle in my mouth. I gave one sigh to my country ever dear, one tear to my adored wife, one thought to that providence which requites both good and evil, and awaited my last moment. O how slow was it's approach ! how long did a moment then appear !

'Half a quarter of an hour, to me half an age, painfully dragged on, whilst the cruel inquisitor scrupulously examined every countenance. At length he cried : " is there nobody else in the carriage ?" and saying it jumped in. I heard, I felt him enter. One of his feet rested on one of my thighs. His hands tumbled over the large packages heaped behind the back-seat : he struck many blows upon the seats, at the foot of which I was lying amidst a number of little bundles. Protecting God ! his feet could not feel me, his hands could not touch me, his scrutinizing eyes passed over me, no doubt, yet saw me not. Had he stooped ever so little, had he looked upwards from below, had he deranged a few straws, or lifted up a flap of the great coat, all would have been over with me, my pistol would have been discharged, I should have left Lodoiska and my country, and plunged into the gulph of eternity.' p. 189.

When arrived at Paris, he experienced another severe instance of ingratitude from an old connexion, from whose house he was obliged to remove at half an hour's notice. He then retired to a little lodging, where his Lodoiska concealed him in a piece of masonry executed with her own hands, which appeared to be a perfect wall, and in which not a crack could be perceived. Even this however was deemed at last insecure ; and by the aid of a *real* friend, who however had never professed himself such, he was enabled at last to escape to 'the caverns of Mount Jura', from which the present work is dated the 22d of July, 1794, a few days before the fall of Robespierre.

We have somewhat exceeded our limits in our account of this work. As a part of our Appendix is dedicated to the history of the times, and as this is a most important and interesting piece of history, we conceived that to present an abstract of it would enable our readers to fill up some of those chasms which the scantiness of our materials obliges us sometimes to

availed himself of such illustrations as the versions and paraphrases at large could afford, but carefully applied himself to select, from the annotations of *Erasmus*, *Beza*, *Camerarius*, *Heinsius*, *Drusius*, *Grotius*, *Lightfoot*, *Bengel*, *Wetstein*, *Moldenhawer*, with the detached observations of *Krebs*, *Loefner*, and others, whatever he might find most deserving regard,—all which he hath either expressed in the words of the authors, or more briefly in his own, as occasion required.—But though he has been thus much indebted to other men's labours, he by no means hath been sparing of his own; for it will, upon investigation, be easily discovered that the interpretations of his predecessors are very frequently confirmed by new authorities and arguments,—and, likewise, that he often departs from their sense, substituting, modestly, a better. Though his primary object were to subserve the pursuits of the student, he apprehended that such as were more conversant in the sacred writings might find a convenience in such a compendium; and the better to aid the purposes of both, he procured the bookseller to print a number of copies with ample margins, for the convenience of inserting additional notes. Such was the plan exhibited in his first volume, and which, having been most favourably received, he has been induced to follow through the rest, improving each, from the year 1777, out of every new work that conduced to his end. The multiplied advantages of this fourth edition are owed in a considerable measure to a circumstance that occurred whilst the first volume was just recommitted to the press, when, to his surprise, a new edition was brought him from Copenhagen, where it had been printed, with large augmentations, by professor *Tauber*, of Roeskild, in Denmark: for it appears that he hath more frequently cited the version of the seventy, and the apocryphal books of the Old Testament, than Rosenmüller himself, as well as made very considerable use of the writings of *Philo* and *Josephus*, together with those of the fathers,—the most ancient and modern interpreters,—and the various comments and tracts, particularly of the Germans and his own countrymen, which had the explanation of scripture for their object. From these professor Rosenmüller has culled all that could contribute to confirm and illustrate the interpretations he had originally offered, or that might conduce to the disclosure of a different and truer explanation,—still keeping, as before, brevity in view. Against *Tauber* he justly makes a double complaint, for having invaded the right of the original publisher, and inserted in this edition of the work, without any other discrimination but that of bad writing, whatever he chose to add of his own.

The plan on which professor Rosenmüller has executed his
work

work is as follows.—After a short, but pertinent disquisition on the words Ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη—which he considers as signifying *the new form of religion*, in contradistinction to παλαιὰν διαθήκην, *the Mosaic*, that œconomy being only a *covenant*, whereas the Christian is both a *covenant* and a *testament*, Heb. ix. 11—21.—another on the four gospels—interpreting Εὐαγγέλιον, an *historical exposition of the life and concerns of Jesus Christ*;—and a third on the title, Το κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον—a *Conspectus* is presented of the gospel itself, in the form we here will subjoin, as a specimen of the manner with which each book begins.

‘ This Gospel consisteth of four parts :

- ‘ I. Of the Infancy of Jesus. Chap. i. ii.
- ‘ II. Of the discourses and actions of John and of Christ preparatory to the public office which Christ was soon to undertake. Chap. iii. 1—iv. 11.
- ‘ III. Of the discourses and transactions of Christ in Galilee which shewed him to be the Messiah. Chap. iv. 12—xviii. 35.
- ‘ 1.) The various actions of Christ simply narrated. Chap. iv. 12—xi. 1.
- ‘ 2.) In what manner the sayings and deeds of Jesus were received by different sorts of persons, or what effect was produced by his sermons and miracles, is related. Chap. xi. 2—xvi. 12.
- ‘ 3.) The discourses and actions of Jesus, more particularly concerning his disciples and future apostles. Chap. xvi. 13—xx. 16.
- ‘ IV. The conclusion of Christ’s history. Chap. xx. 17—xxviii. 20.’

From this analysis the author proceeds to make some general observations on what hath been lately advanced by Dr. Williams and others, against the genuineness of the two first chapters of this gospel; and after stating the principal arguments adduced, he adds from *Hefs* : ‘ This, at least, on all sides is readily conceded, that it was neither necessary, nor congruent to the purpose of the apostles, in first propagating the religion of Christ, either orally or in writing to deliver the history of his infancy.’ But whatever was admitted by others, and though even universally, we are ready to shew, that, in respect to the Jews at least, this history was absolutely essential, and to all who were acquainted with the prophecies that the Old Testament contains. How (to insist upon no other argument) can it be shewn, independently of the genealogies of Matthew and of Luke, (for the latter hath been included in the same predicament) that Christ was of the seed of, and heir to, David?—But, exclusively of this consideration, what can be more unwarrantable than to argue from general opinion

nion against an alleged fact, which also has the sanction of the earliest antiquity? The question is, if the most ancient copies of the gospel have, or have not, these chapters in dispute? and not, whether these chapters ought not to be given up, because later copies are without them, and writers of the present time suppose, upon grounds of their own, that the relation of the history they contain was not essential to the apostle's designs?—That the apostles, in delivering the history of Christ, should generally begin with insisting upon the truth of his resurrection, is admitted; but the insertion of the *generally*, does not imply that they always did so; and the reason given for their adopting this method is, in itself, a sufficient one; viz. that the apostles themselves were most credible witnesses of the fact; whereas the other circumstances of Christ's life, such particularly as his baptism, and the testimony of John, which it is admitted very properly they *sometimes* adverted to (Acts, x. 37. i. 21, 22.), were to them but matters of report. It is affirmed by this critic, what is totally inconsistent with the ground we have first taken, 'that the history of the infancy of Jesus belongs not to the *public* testimony of Christ;' and he thence infers it probable that Luke first inquired into the history of the infancy of Jesus, and recorded it, to satisfy the curiosity of a private individual: upon this position then, for aught that is offered to the contrary, if the genealogy of Luke be true, that in Matthew must be false. He hath noticed, however, that the genealogy in Matthew's gospel was extant in the time of *Clemens Alexandrinus* and *Irenæus*.—Those of our readers who wish to see this subject satisfactorily treated, we refer to the very judicious little tract just published by Dr. Bell, under the title of 'Arguments in proof of the Authenticity of the Narratives of the extraordinary Conception and Birth of John the Baptist, and the miraculous Conception and Birth of Jesus Christ; contained in the two first chapters of St. Matthew and St. Luke.'

It will naturally be expected that, from a work of this extent and importance, some specimens should be cited. We therefore will select a few of such as may give a general idea of the rest—

'MATTH. C. IV. V. 24. Ἡ ἀκοὴ αὐτοῦ) *fama, rumor de eo*. Hebr. *נִשְׁמָע*, et sic adhibent Symmachus et Theodotion Jesh. xliii. 5. Helych. *ακοη, φημη*. Sed apud optimos quoque scriptores Græcos *ακοη* significat *famam*, ut ostendit *Pfichenius* illo Thucydidis i. 20. *τας ακοας των προφηγενημενων αδασανισως παρ' αλληλων δεχονται*—*απηλθεν*) *נִשְׁמָע*, *exiit*.—*εις ὁλην την Συριαν*) Galilææ contterminam.—*τους κακως εχοντας*) sc. *εαυτους*, male se habentes, i. e. ægrotos.—*βασανοις συνεχομενους*) cruciatibus constrictos, vel compressos. ἡ *βασανος* proprie est coticula, qua aurum exploratur, lapis Lydus.

Trans-

Transfertur autem ad quascunque quæstiones, etiam tormentorum. H. l. significantur cruciatus atque tormenta morborum. *συνεχειν*, comprimere, cruciare, affligere. Hefych. *συνεχομενον*, *ευαγτιουμενον*, *αρωσθιουντα*. — *δαιμονιζομενος*) Apud Græcos media est vox *δαιμονος*. Hellenistæ vero *Angelos lucis* noluerunt appellare *Dæmonum* vocabulo, sed in detestationem paganicæ superstitionis nomen id proprium esse voluerunt spiritibus noxiis, quos Græci discriminis causa *κακοδαιμονας* dixere eos, qui ira divina exagitarentur, ut Euripides Phœnissis: *ὡς δαιμονωντας κἀνατρεφαντας πολιν*. *Κακοδαιμοναν* est apud Aristoph. in Pluto Act. II. scen. 4. ubi extremam dementia, furorē vehementissimum indicat. Habet *δαιμονιζεσθαι* Plutarch. Sympof. Q. vii. 5. in fine. Judæis usitatissimum erat, morbos quosdam, graviores eos præsertim, quibus vel distortum est corpus, vel mens turbata et agitata phrenesi, malis spiritibus attribuire. *Iosephus* Antiq. vi. 8. 2. *τον Σαουλον περιηρχετο παθητινα και δαιμονια, πνιγμους αυτω και σφραγιδας επιφεροντα*. Contra hanc Saul a dæmonibus illatam perturbationem (*προς την απο των δαιμονων ταραχην*) Davides solus erat medicus. Idem *Iosephus* Eleazarum quendam liberantem obsessos ex potestate *Dæmonum* refert. Modum curationis his describit verbis: *προσφερων (Ελεαζαρος) ταις ρισαι του δαιμονιζομενου τον δακτυλιον, εχοντα υπο τη σφραγιδι ριζαν εξ αν υπιδειξε Σολομων, επειτα εξειλκεν οσφραινομενην δια των μυκτηρων το δαιμονιον*. Antiq. viii. 2. 5. Sunt multi in ea opinione *Dæmoniacos*, quorum in Evangeliiis fit mentio, fuisse morbis ex naturalibus causis ortis affectos, Christum autem et Apostolos accommodasse loquendi modo apud Judæos recepto. *Dæmoniacos* vocatos esse insanos, furiosos, vel modo aliquo mente læsos, contendit *Hobbesius* (in *Leviath.* c. 8.) epilepsia, vel alio graviore morbo cum distortionē corporis et perturbatione mentis conjuncto affectos, *Thom. Bartholinus*, lib. de morbis bibl. art. 19. Prolixe hunc locum tractat, et multis argumentis sententiam illam confirmat *Weissenius* ad h. l. Nostra ætate de *dæmoniacis* et *lunaticis* multum disputatum est. Vid. S. V. *Semleri* diff. de *Dæmoniacis* quorum in Evangeliiis fit mentio 1760. et *umflaendliche untersuchung der dæmonischen Leute* 1762. Adde *Hugh Farmer's Briefe an D. Worthington über die Dæmonischen in den Evangelien*. Cum not. et præfat. *Semleri* Halæ 1783. D. *Theodori Gerh. Timmermanni Diatribe Antiquario-medica de Dæmoniacis Evangeliorum*. Rintelii 1786, 4to *. Contrariam sententiam cum multis aliis defendit cel. *Hefsius* in libro: *Ueber die Lehren, Thaten und Schicksale unsers Herrn Sect. 8.* — *σεληνιαζομενος*) *Lunatici* sunt, qui mente moti furore corripiuntur, et pro ratione lunæ putantur plus vel minus moveri. — *παραλυτικους*) *Celsus* *παρالىσιν* transfert nervorum resolutionem, et para-

* A note on *The Caliph Vathek, an Arabian Tale* (if our memory do not deceive us) would, were the hint it suggests but pursued, throw new light on the subject. REV.

lytici sunt enervati, languentibus et debilitatis corporis membris. Ceterum eo consilio miracula, edidit Jesus, ut homines attenti redderentur, et ad se libenter audiendum suaviter invitarentur.'

* Ch. v. ver. 28. Ὅτι πᾶς ὁ βλέπων — ἐπιθυμῆσαι αὐτῆς) *quemlibet, qui fœminam adspiciat ita, ut turpi ejus amore exardeat.* Emphasis quærenda est non in verbo βλέπειν, sed in verbo ἐπιθυμῆσαι, quod h. l. est *turpiter amare.* Πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι idem hic est, quod ὥστε ἐπιθυμῆσαι. Possset et ἐπιθυμῆσαι hic explicari *sollicitare*, quomodo et ἤΠ Hebraicum sumi solet. Γυνή autem et fœminam innuptam et uxorem alterius significat.—ἡδὴ ἐμοιχεύσεν αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ) Homines, qui de animo nisi ex signis exterioribus judicare non possunt, delicti nomen actui ultimo imponunt. Sed apud Deum mentium exploratorem, qui voluit scelus, is fecit.'

Should any objection be made against this interpretation from the sense given to ἐμοιχεύσεν, '*hath committed ADULTERY,*' which, in ordinary use, does not apply to an illicit connection with an *UNMARRIED woman*, it may be observed from another note of the author: 'Sicut πορνεία interdum μοιχείαν significat, ut infra. (v. 32.) ita novum non est, μοιχείαν dici, quæ πορνεία proprie diceretur. Hoc autem loco μοιχεύειν utrumque et *adulterium committere et scortari* significare videtur.'

* Ch. xxii. ver. 43. Ἐν πνεύματι) Spiritu prophæico. Erat enim David προφῆτης Act. ii. 30, et per ipsum loquebatur Spiritus S. 2 Sam. xxiii. 2. Act. i. 16.—κύριον αὐτοῦ καλεῖ) Ps. cx. 1. Davides, tantus rex, Messiam non modo tanquam se majorem, sed et ut suum Dominum suspicit ac colit. At quomodo Messias, e Davide natus, Dominus Davidis poterat appellari, nisi ipse Messias jus atque imperium erat habiturus in ipsum Davidem, et Messiae beneficia ad Davidem erant perventura? Ad Messiam pertinere hunc Psalmum, agnoverunt Hebræi veteres, et ipsos Phariseos Christi ætate hunc Psalmum de Messia intellexisse, ex eadem hac disputatione patet. Jesus igitur ex concessis cum Phariseis disputat, eisque hunc locum eo consilio proponit, ut illis meditandi materiam de Messiae dignitate suppeditet. Vid. D. ECKERMANNI Theologische Beyträge. Erstes Stück, p. 107. f. 99.—De Messia hunc Psalmum explicant etiam *Dathius* et *Michaelis* cum plerisque.'

* Act. ii. 4. Καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν—ἀποφθεγγεσθαι) *Et omnes impetu quodam divino acti cuperunt linguis exteris loqui, prouti facultas ipsis Deo operante concessa erat.* De varia significatione vocis πνεύματος ἁλίου vide notata ad Matth. iii. 16. iv. 1. Sed quæritur: quo sensu hic accipienda sit phrasis ἐπληθύνθησαν πνεύματος ἁλίου; De persona

sona Spiritus Sancti nemo facile cogitaverit. Quomodo enim Spiritus Sanctus, omnipræfens, modo locali animos hominum occupare dici poterit? Igitur *repleri spiritu sancto* erit, operante et adjuvante Deo aliquid agere, animo magno et forti aggredi et facere, quod consuetas hominum vires superat.—*Λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις*) loqui peregrinis linguis. Alia lingua est, quæ mihi non est vernacula. Apostolorum igitur quisque locutus est lingua, quæ ipsi non erat vernacula. Hoc per se clarum est. Addunt omnes interpretes, Apostolos nunquam antea didicisse has linguas. Sequeretur igitur infusum esse iis habitum novas ipsisque antea inauditas voces proferendi, iisque cogitationes animique sensus exprimendi. Quam hoc sit difficile cogitatu, nemo non videt. Nec uspiam relatum legimus, linguas istas peregrinas Apostolis antea plane ignotas fuisse. Lucas enim inter linguas peregrinas, quibus locutos esse Apostolos dicit, refert etiam dialectum Chaldaico-Syriacum, quæ in *Judæa* usitata erat, ut et linguam Græcam, et Latinam, (v. 9, 10.) Constat autem, dialectum Galilæam, quæ erat vernacula Apostolis, non multum diversam fuisse a dialecto Judæorum Judæam inhabitantium, (Matt. xxvi. 73.) usos esse Apostolos versione Græca Alexandrina, adeoque hujus linguæ non fuisse ignaros, nec linguam Latinam plane ignotam esse potuisse Judæis Palæstinensibus, audientibus Romanos, non tantum Hierosolymis sed in aliis etiam urbibus sua utentes lingua. Quod ad alias, e. c. Persarum et Ægyptiorum linguas attinet, inusitatae quidem illæ erant in Palæstina, non tamen prorsus ignotæ. Constat enim magnam Judæorum multitudinem, ex omnibus fere provinciis orbis terrarum non tantum festorum causâ ad breve tempus venisse Hierosolyma, sed multos etiam studiorum causâ adiisse hanc urbem, adeoque suas sibi habuisse synagogas, (infra c. vi. 9.) Ergo non omnino defuit occasio unius vel alterius peregrinis linguis esse locutos, sed res ipsa docet, uni hac, alteri illa lingua loqui contigisse. Quod si hoc sumimus, non adeo difficile fuisse videtur Apostolis ex usu et consuetudine cum exteris Judæis sibi familiarem reddere unam vel alteram linguam peregrinam. Saltem propriis etiam studiis eorum, qui peregrinis linguis utebantur, aliquid tribuendum esse, verosimile fit ex locis, 1 Cor. xii. et xiv. ubi Paulus Christianos jubet *studere* donis illis, *ζηλοῦν τα χαρίσματα*, 1 Cor. xii. 31. xiv. 1. 12. Divini aliquid et consuetas humanas vires superans in hac re fuisse, equidem nullus dubito. Scribit enim Lucas, Apostolos *plenos spiritu*, i. e. magna fiducia a Deo excitata (infra c. iv. 31.) *locutos esse καθὼς τὸ πνεῦμα ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἀποφθεγγέσθαι*, prouti Deus pro sua potentia singulis vim hujus vel alius linguæ loquendæ tribuerit. Sed operatio et auxilium Dei usum virium naturalium non excludit. Ergo loquendi usus sacrae scripturae et sanæ rationis principiis convenientissimum esse videtur, si dicamus, unumquemque Apostolorum usu et consuetudine cum Judæis exteris, Hierosolymis et in aliis locis Palæstinæ versantibus, comparasse sibi aliquam, licet valde imperfectam unius vel

alius linguæ cognitionem, die Pentecostes autem eos primum esse aulos uti facultate ista, adeo ut peregrinis linguis laudes Dei celebrarent, et de rebus divinis prompte differerent, (nam λαλει sæpissime esse *docere, de religione differere*, omnibus constat,) (v. 11.) quod antea nunquam ausi fuerant. Hoc omnino erat opus Dei, animos eorum excitantis et corroborantis ad ea præstanda, quæ vires eorum naturales excedere viderentur. Huic sententiæ non repugnat, quod Act. x. 46. xix. 6. narratur. Non enim dicitur, istos homines linguarum peregrinarum, quibus utebantur, antea prorsus ignaros fuisse; nec vis miraculi in eo tantum erat, quod linguis peregrinis loquerentur, sed etiam et quidem maxime in eo, quod laudes Dei celebrarent, et de divinis rebus egregie differerent, (εμεῖς αὐτοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, c. x. 46. καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, c. xix. 6.) Alii sumunt non Apostolos, sed *exteros tantummodo Judæos*, qui in numero discipulorum fuerint, (v. 1. 2.) linguis peregrinis usos esse; quod non est de nihilo; nam permultos exteros Judæos Hierosolyma habitatum concessisse, ex v. 5. patet. Sed res est incerta. Non tantum Apostolis, sed reliquis quoque in Christum credentibus concessum fuisse linguarum donum, affirmavit Jo. Casp. Santoroccus, Prof. olim Marpurg. 1718. Suspiciati sunt nonnulli, e. c. Salmasius, hoc donum linguarum fuisse momentaneum, ac statim cessasse. Hæc opinio non potest probari, si verum est quod supra sumimus, Apostolos jam antea sibi unam et alteram linguam peregrinam familiarem reddidisse. Anonymus (in den Beyträgen zur Beförderung des vernünftigen Denkens in d. Religion, Fascic. 16. p. 62. f. 99.) γλωσσας putat esse *egregias sententias*, laudes in Deum, doxologias, Psalmorum particulas, precatiunculas, dicta biblica in diversis idiomatibus, in synagogis Hierosolymitanis usitata. Sed exempla hujus significationis desiderantur. Quod attinet ad fidem et utilitatem hujus doni, quod vocant linguarum, equidem eorum sententiam probo, qui præcipuum esse usum fuisse statuunt in docendo evangelio apud exteras gentes, si qua opportunitas docendi coram ejusmodi hominibus esset oblata, qui linguæ Græcæ aut vernaculæ Palæstinæ usum non habuissent. Quod enim aliter sentientes de usu Græcæ et Latinæ linguæ in omnibus universi Romani imperii provinciis dicunt, id quidem est verum, sed restringendum tamen videtur ad lautioris conditionis homines, et alios qui negotiorum causa sæpe itinera faciebant, non extendendum ad omnes plebeios. Et fac, vernaculas fuisse linguam Græcam et Latinam in plerisque Romani imperii provinciis, vernaculæ tamen non fuerunt in Palæstina, nec vernaculæ fuerunt Apostolis. Græcæ quidem linguæ peritiam sibi comparaverant lectione versionis Græcæ Alexandrinæ. Sed aliud est *intelligere* linguam exteram, ita ut libros in illa lingua scriptos legere et intelligere possis, aliud est in eadem loqui et scribere. Iste Apostolorum habitus animi sensus Græcæ et Latine proferendi, omnino ad πνεῦμα referendus est, quo operante ausi sunt linguis peregrinis laudes Dei celebrare, et prompte de rebus

bus

bus divinis differere. Ceterum de fine et utilitate hujus doni disseruit Ven STORR l. c. p. 61. Eos qui charisma hoc instar habitus fuisse, ut quis posset omnes linguas, quandocunque vellet, docendi causa loqui, sibi persuadent, aliaque assumunt, quæ nullis nituntur argumentis, bene refutavit b. ERNESTI in Progr. de doni linguarum natura, Lipsiæ, 1765.²

Dr. Rosenmüller has published Scholia upon the books of the Old Testament on a similar plan : but of that work we are not possessed.

Appel à l'Impartiale Posterité, par la Citoyenne Roland, Femme du Ministre de l'Interieur, ou, Recueil des Ecrits qu'elle a rédigés, pendant sa Detention, aux Prisons de l'Abbaye et de Sainte Pelagie; Imprimé au profit de sa Fille Unique, privée de la Fortune de ses père et mère, dont les Biens sont toujours séquestrés. Première Partie.

An Appeal to Impartial Posterity, by Citizenness Roland, Wife of the Minister of the Home Department: or, a Collection of Pieces written by her during her Confinement in the Prisons of the Abbey, and St. Pelagie: published for the Benefit of her only Daughter, deprived of the Fortune of her Parents, whose Property is still in Sequestration. Part I. translated from the French. 8vo. 3s. 6d. Johnson. 1795.

THE name of Madame Roland is well known in the short but eventful history of the French revolution. Her husband bore a distinguished part in the earlier years of that history; and she, whether from ambition, vanity, or zeal, assisted him in his political labours, and not only shared the blame or praise of his measures, but was even supposed to be the author of some measures for which he got the credit. Be this as it may, she appears to have been a woman of uncommon talents, although not superior to the vanity either of her country or her sex. Although her understanding is rather masculine, and her sentiments lofty, dignified, and what is now termed philosophical, yet she writes in general like a woman, and like a French woman. These memoirs, notwithstanding, are highly interesting to those who wish to analyse the parties and factions which have prevailed in her distracted country: and however the reader may differ from some of her opinions, her relations bear every mark of authenticity, and her reflections very powerfully arrest the attention. The editor informs us, as an excuse for some repetitions and negligences of style, that she composed the part entitled Historical Memoirs, two thirds of which, and those the most interesting,

are lost, in the space of four months, and all the rest in twenty-two days, in the midst of vexations and inquietudes of every kind, and that the manuscript had very few corrections.

The chief object of that part of the Historical Memoirs which is now before us, is to give an account of her arrest, in which she displayed that heroic firmness which has been called forth in many instances by the tyranny of Robespierre. Previous to entering on the subject, she throws out an opinion on the massacres of September 2d and 3d, which exhibits the character of the Parisians, we fear, in its true light—

‘ The blood boils in my veins, when I hear the goodness of the Parisians vaunted, who would have no more such days as the 2d of September. Just heavens! you are not wanted to execute another, you have only to suffer it as before: but you are necessary to collect the victims, and you civilly lend your hands to apprehend them; you are necessary to give the appearance of a legitimate insurrection to the tribunes, who sway you, and you approve their undertakings, you obey their orders, and take the oath of fealty to the monstrous authorities they create; you surround the legislative body with your bayonets, and you permit the decrees, it is wanted to pass, to be dictated to it. Boast, then, no more, of being its defenders: it is you, who bind it in chains; you, who deliver into the hands of oppression its members most distinguished for their virtues and their talents, and with equal cowardice see them brought to a scaffold, by proceedings similar to those which destroyed Sidney; you, who will answer for so many crimes to indignant France, who serve the cause of her enemies, and prepare the way for federalism. Think you, that the proud Marseilles, and sage Gironde, will pass over the affront done to their representatives, or ever fraternise with your city black with guilt? You are the destroyers of your country, and soon will lament in vain, in the midst of its ruins, your infamous pusillanimity.’ P. 7.

The same indifference, it may be observed, the Parisians maintained throughout the whole reign of Robespierre, who after all was dethroned, not by them, but by his colleagues.

What follows serves admirably to characterise the spirit and genius of Madame Roland—

‘ It was half after five in the evening, when six men armed came to our house. One of them read to Roland an order of the revolutionary committee, by the authority of which they came to apprehend him. “ I know no law,” said Roland, “ which constitutes the authority you cite to me, and I shall obey no orders proceeding from it. If you employ violence, I can only oppose to you the resistance of a man of my years; but I shall protest against it to the last moment.”—“ I have no order to employ violence,”

APP. VOL. XIV. NEW ARR.

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replied

replied the person, "and I will leave my colleagues here, whilst I go and report your answer to the council of the commune."

"Immediately it occurred to me, that it would be well to announce this circumstance to the Convention with some noise, in order to prevent the arrest of Roland, or to obtain his prompt release, if this should be carried into execution. To communicate the thought to my husband, write a letter to the president, and set out, was the business of a few minutes. My servant was absent; I left a friend, who was in the house, with Roland; and stepped alone into a hackney-coach, which I ordered to proceed as fast as possible to the Carrouzel. The court of the Tuileries was filled with armed men. I crossed, and flew through the midst of them like a bird. I was dressed in a morning gown, and had put on a black shawl, and a veil. On my arrival at the doors of the outer halls, which were all shut, I found sentinels, who allowed no one to enter, or sent me by turns from one door to another. In vain I insisted on admission: at length I bethought myself of employing such language, as might have been uttered by some devotee of Robespierre: "but, citizens, in this day of salvation for our country, in the midst of those traitors we have to fear, you know not of what importance some notes I have to transmit to the president may be. Let me at least see one of the messengers, that I may entrust them to him."

"The door opened, and I entered into the petitioners' hall. I inquired for a messenger of the house. "Wait till one comes out:" said one of the inner sentinels. A quarter of an hour passed away: I perceived Rôze, the person who brought me the decree of the convention, which invited me to repair to the bar, on occasion of the ridiculous accusation of Viard, whom I overwhelmed with confusion: now I solicited permission to appear there, and announced Roland to be in danger, with which the public weal was connected. But circumstances were no longer the same, though my rights were equal: before invited, now a suppliant, could I expect the same success? Rôze took charge of my letter; understood the subject of my impatience; and repaired to lay it on the table, and urge its being read. An hour elapsed. I walked hastily backwards and forwards: every time the door opened my eyes were cast towards the hall, but it was immediately shut by the guard: a fearful noise was heard at intervals: Rôze again appeared.—"Well!"—"Nothing has been done yet. A tumult I cannot describe prevails in the assembly. Some petitioners, now at the bar, demand the *two-and-twenty* to be apprehended: I have just assisted Ribaud to slip out without being seen: they are not willing he should make the report of the commission of *twelve*: he has been threatened: several others are escaping: there is no knowing what will be the event."—"Who is the president now?"—"Héruit-Séchelles."—"Ah! my letter will not be read. Send some deputy to me, with whom

I can speak a few words.”—“Whom?”—“Indeed I have been little acquainted, or have little esteem for any, but them, who are proscribed. Tell Vergniaux I am inquiring for him.”

‘Rôze went in quest of him. After a considerable time he appeared. We talked together for ten minutes. He went back into the hall, returned, and said to me: “In the present state of the assembly, I dare not flatter you; you have little to hope. If you get admission to the bar, you may obtain a little more favour as a woman; but the convention can do no more good.”—“It can do every thing:” exclaimed I, “for the majority of Paris seeks only to know what it has to do. If I were admitted, I would venture to say, what you could not without exposing yourself to an accusation. I fear nothing; and if I cannot save Roland, I will utter with energy truths, which will not be useless to the republic. Inform your worthy colleagues: a burst of courage may have a great effect, and at least will set a great example.”—In fact, I was in that temper of mind, which imparts eloquence: warm with indignation, superior to all fear, my bosom glowing for my country, the ruin of which I foresaw, every thing dear to me in the world exposed to the utmost danger, feeling strongly, expressing my sentiments with fluency, too proud not to utter them with dignity, I had subjects in which I was highly interested to discuss, possessed some means of defending them, and was in a singular situation for doing it with advantage.—“But, at any rate, your letter cannot be read this hour or two: a plan of a decree, forming six articles, is going to be discussed: petitioners, deputed by the sections, wait at the bar: think what an attempt!”—“I will go home, then, to hear what has passed; and will immediately return: so tell our friends.”—“Most of them are absent: they show themselves courageous, when they are here; but they are deficient in assiduity.”—“That is unfortunately too true.”

‘I quitted Vergniaux: I flew to Louvet’s: I wrote a note to inform him of what was going on, and what I foresaw. I flung myself into a hackney-coach, and ordered it home. The poor horses answered not the speed of my wishes. Soon we were met by some battalions, whose march stopped us: I jumped out of the coach, paid the coachman, rushed through the ranks, and made off. This was near the Louvre. I ran to our house, which was opposite St. Côme, in Harp-street. The porter whispered me, that Roland was gone into the landlord’s, at the bottom of the court. Thither I repaired, in a profuse perspiration. A glass of wine was brought me, and I was told that the bearer of the *mandate* of arrest having returned, without being able to procure a hearing at the council, Roland had persisted in protesting against his orders; and that these good people had demanded his protest in writing, and had then withdrawn: after which Roland went through the landlord’s apartment, and got out of the house the back way. I did

the same to find him, to inform him of what I had done, and to acquaint him with the steps I meant to pursue. At the first house to which I repaired, I found him not: in the second I did. From the solitariness of the streets, which were illuminated, I presumed it was late; yet this did not prevent my design of returning to the convention. There I would have appeared ignorant of Roland's escape, and spoken as I before intended. I was about to set off on foot, without being conscious, that it was past ten o'clock, and that I was out that day for the first time since my illness, which demanded rest and the bath. A hackney-coach was brought me. On approaching the Carrouzel, I saw nothing more of the armed force: two pieces of cannon, and a few men, were still at the gate of the national palace: I went up to it, and found the sitting was dissolved!

“What, on the day of an insurrection, when the sound of the alarm-bell scarcely ceases to strike the ear, when forty thousand men in arms surrounded the convention only two hours before, and petitioners threatened its members from the bar, the assembly is not permanent!—Surely then it is completely subjugated! it has done every thing, that it was ordered! The *revolutionary power* is so mighty, that the convention dares not oppose it, and it has no need of the convention!

“Citizens,” said I to some *fans-culottes* collected round a cannon, “has every thing gone well?”—“O wonderfully! they embraced, and sung the hymn of the *Marseillaise*, there, under the tree of liberty.”—“What, then, is the right side appeased?”—“Faith, it was obliged to listen to reason.”—“And what of the committee of twelve?”—“It is kicked into the ditch.”—“And the *twenty-two*?”—“The municipality will cause them to be taken up.”—“Good: but can it?”—“Is it not the sovereign? It was necessary it should, to set those b—— of traitors right, and support the commonwealth.”—“But will the departments be well pleased to see their representatives * * * *?”—“What are you talking of? the *Parisians* do nothing but in concert with the departments: they have said so to the convention.”—“That is not too clear, for, to know their will, the primary assemblies should have met.”—“Were they wanting on the 10th of August? Did not the departments approve what Paris did then? They do the same now: it is Paris that saves them.”—“That ruins them rather, perhaps.”

“I had crossed the court, and arrived at my hackney-coach, as I finished this dialogue with an old *fans-culotte*, no doubt well paid to tutor the dupes. A pretty dog pressed close at my heels:—“Is the poor creature yours?” said the coachman to me, with a tone of sensibility very rare amongst his fellows, which struck me extremely.—“No: I know nothing of him:” answered I gravely, as if I were speaking of a man, and already thinking of something else: “you will set me down at the galleries of the *Louvre*.” There

I intended

I intended to call on a friend, with whom I would consult on the means of getting Roland out of Paris. We had not gone a dozen yards before the coach stopped. "What is the matter?" said I to the coachman.—"Ah, he has left me; like a fool; and I wanted to keep him for my little boy. He would have been highly pleased with him. Wheugh! Wheugh! Wheugh!"—I recollected the dog: it was gratifying to me to have for a coachman, at such an hour, a man of a good heart, of feeling, and a father. "Endeavour to catch him:" said I, "you shall put him into the coach, and I will take care of him for you."—The good man, quite delighted, caught the dog, opened the door, and gave him to me for a companion. The poor animal appeared sensible, that he had found protection and an asylum: I was greatly caressed by him, and I thought of that tale of Sandi, in which is described an old man, weary of his fellow creatures, and disgusted with their passions, who retired to a wood, in which he constructed himself a dwelling, of which he sweetened the solitude by means of some animals, who repaid his cares with testimonies of affection, and with a species of gratitude, to which he confined himself, for want of meeting with its like amongst mankind.

Pasquier had just gone to bed. He rose: I proposed to him my plan. We agreed that he should come to me the next day after seven o'clock, and I would inform him where to find his friend. I returned to my coach: it was stopped by the sentry, at the post of the Woman of Samaria. "Have a little patience:" whispered the good coachman to me, turning back on his seat: "it is the custom at this time of night."—The serjeant came and opened the door. "Who is here?"—"A woman."—"Whence do you come?"—"From the convention."—"It is very true:" added the coachman, as if he feared, I should not be credited.—"Whither are you going?"—"Home."—"Have you no bundles?"—"I have nothing. See."—"But the assembly has broken up."—"Yes: at which I am very sorry, for I had a petition to make."—"A woman! at this hour! it is very strange: it is very imprudent."—"No doubt it is not a very common occurrence: I must have had strong reasons for it."—"But, madam, alone?"—"How, sir, alone! Do you not see I have innocence and truth with me? what more is necessary?"—"I must submit to your reasons."—"And you do well:" replied I, in a gentler tone: "for they are good."

The horses were so fatigued, that the coachman was obliged to pull them by the bridle, to get them up the hill, in the street in which I resided. I got home: I dismissed him: and I had ascended eight or ten steps, when a man, close at my heels, who had slipped in at the gate unperceived by the porter, begged me to conduct him to citizen Roland.—"To his apartment, with all my heart, if you have any thing of service to him to impart: but to him is impossible."—"This evening he will certainly be apprehended."

hended."—"They must be very dexterous, who accomplish it."
—"You give me great pleasure; for it is an honest citizen who accosts you."—"I am glad of it:" said I, and went on, without well knowing what to think of the adventure.' p. 8.

It appears that in the two last months of Roland's ministry, their friends often urged them to quit the hotel, as an assassination was apprehended; 'but,' says our heroine, in the true Roman spirit, 'it was my opinion, that no persons could easily be induced to violate the asylum of a man invested with a public office; and if there were such wretches, it appeared to me, *that the perpetration of such an act would be productive of beneficial consequences.*' She afterwards vindicates this sentiment; but she does not seem to know the difference between sacrificing a life for the good of one's country, and sacrificing it when it can produce no possible advantage, unless a certain niche in the temple of fame.—The account of the arrest follows this, and affords a display of uncommon dignity and resolution. None but the slaves of a tyrant would have been unmoved at such a scene: yet such slaves Paris abounded with while Robespierre reigned.

During her confinement, she addressed several letters to the convention, and to the ministers, but without effect. In the sequel of these memoirs, she vindicates the character and conduct of her husband, and gives us many particulars which serve to develope some of the mysteries of this revolution. She informs us that Petion and Brissot said that the king's flight would be his ruin, and *that advantage must be taken of it*: that the people were excellently disposed, and would be more clearly convinced of the treachery of the court by this step than they would have been by the ablest publications; that this single fact rendered it evident to all, that the king would not maintain the constitution, to which he had sworn: and that this was the time to secure one less heterogeneous, and, in order to it, *prepare men's minds for a republic*.—Such were the sentiments of men who afterward affected to talk of the king's *insincerity*. The remainder of this historical detail, and her account of the massacres of September, will not more reconcile an impartial reader to the characters of the several factions which from time to time, and under various disguises, amused the people with the phantom of liberty, while they deprived them of the reality. The progress towards Robespierre's tyranny was composed of events, all of which were closely linked together from the 10th of August, 1792.

The characters and anecdotes appended to this memoir must be taken with considerable allowance. Madame Roland is enthusiastically attached to her party, and can see none of those faults

faults which *impartial posterity* will be at no loss to discover by comparing one opinion with another, and events with opinions. Her style, however, is neat, lively, and interesting; and few women have discovered more self-command, and energy of mind, in situations the most trying.

A continuation of this *Appeal* is promised, consisting of papers and memoirs relative to her death, &c. The translation of the present part is executed with fidelity, but there are marks of haste, and some few inaccuracies, probably of the press, as *Barrieres* for *Barrere*.

La Vie du General Dumouriez. 3 Tom. 10s. 6d. Hambourg. Chez B. G. Hoffman. Se trouve à Londres, Chez J. Johnson. 1795.

IN the memoirs of general Dumouriez published last year (see Crit. Rev. N. A. Vol. X. p. 531), appeared a letter to a friend, in which the general gave a very brief sketch of his life prior to the commencement of that work. This sketch is now extended to three volumes, and appears sufficiently interesting to demand the attention of the public. Hard, indeed, is it to say what credit is to be given to the various memoirs and annals published by the persecuted or expatriated French: but from a comparison of their various details and opinions, we may obtain all that in the present confused state of things can be expected. Dumouriez (for thus he always spells his name) says, in his Preface, that the only answer he can make to the criticisms of his enemies upon his former two books of Memoirs, is the publication of his whole life. "In this work will be found great truths, and my fellow-citizens, when their present phrenzy is past, will be struck with them. May they be useful! then I shall serve my country even after my death; then I shall have lived long enough; the age, and my nation will renounce me no more; and I shall not wholly die." His motto, accordingly, is—*Non omnis moriar*.

This work is divided into chapters; in the first we are told that it is not from vanity that general Dumouriez (he speaks always in the third person) has undertaken to write the memoirs of his life. It is a duty he owes to his parents, his friends, his partisans; it is an ægis which he opposes to his enemies and persecutors; it is, perhaps, the most instructive lesson he can leave to his contemporaries and to succeeding ages. In this variegated picture of a most active life, he perceives not a *trait* which can make him blush. He is a man, he has committed many faults, he reproaches himself with his errors, but he has no crime with which to reproach himself;

never was he abandoned to any vice ; never did he vary in his principles, &c. After indulging his vanity in this way for some time, he proceeds with the narration.—He was born at Cambrai, Jan. 25, 1739, descended of a family of the name of Duperier ; by the marriage of an ancestor to a lady of the name of *de Meries*, or *Mouries*, the family name became, partly by the corrupt pronounciation of Paris, Dumouriez. Dumouriez, for the first six years and a half of his age, was supported with some difficulty, being puny and ricketty ; and little hopes were entertained of his life. Fortunately, a singer of the cathedral of Cambrai, who taught music to his sisters, took young Dumouriez under his care, who, in a short time, recovered strength, and acquired a constitution able to bear any fatigue. This man, with whom Dumouriez lived three years, formed his mind on the model of his own, which was good and virtuous. At the age of nine, he returned to his father, whom he represents as one of the best informed and most virtuous men in France, although it afterwards appears that this father was not without failings of a very unamiable kind. His mother was by this time dead. His father taught him Latin, and sent him to Paris to the college of Louis-le-Grand. He had but 8000 livres of estate, of which he employed 1500 in the education of his son, and the like sum in that of his two daughters. Dumouriez remained three years in the college, and left it in 1755, returning to his father who taught him English, Italian, Spanish, Greek, and provided him with a tutor in the German. He instructed him also in mathematics, history, and politics, but would not permit him to learn music or painting, although his genius had a considerable bias that way. His father preferred the useful to the merely agreeable in education. He had a great aversion to his son's getting any thing by heart, as he thought that such a practice cramped the imagination. When at college, Dumouriez was almost persuaded by the jesuits to embrace their order ; with this view they recommended to him the History of the Church, by Maimbourg ; Charlevoix' History of Canada and Japan, and the *Lettres Edifiantes*. His father, without rudely repressing the warmth of his son's imagination, fought the Jesuits at their own weapons, by recommending to him the *Lettres Provinciales*, *La Morale des Jesuites*, Bayle's Analysis, some works of Voltaire, &c. Dumouriez read these with eagerness. Seven or eight months afterwards, his father said, "It is time, my son, to know what side you mean to take ; I am not rich ; and as whatever plan you follow will bring on expences, it is necessary I should know, that I may retrench in other respects. Dumouriez answered, that he would be any thing his father chose, *except a monk*. No more passed.

passed. His father did not even smile at the hasty manner in which he had given up his religious pursuits. In the mean time he read law, and at Paris learned fencing and riding. In 1757, he left St. Germain en Laye, with his father, who was named one of the commissaries of war. The news of the attempt to assassinate Louis XV. by Damien, now arrived, and they went to Versailles, whither all the world flocked with their congratulations. Dumouriez remarks here, that the same people who felt so much for Louis XV. a tyrant and the slave of a mistress, afterward glutted their barbarity and their injustice with the death of his grandson, who had none of his vices, and resembled him only in his weaknesses. When the people committed this crime, were they tyrannized over? No. They were the *Sovereign*, and they abused the title. Have they been free since? No; they tremble under the guillotine, and are bowed under the despotism of five or six hundred men of the dregs of the nation. How can they put an end to this new species of despotism? By having a king, after having experienced all the calamities of an absurd anarchy.

In the seven years' war, Dumouriez commenced his military career under the marquis d'Armentieres, late marechal of France, who employed him as his aide-de-camp, but he afterward went with his father, with the marquis Douvet. At the village of Osterwich he received his first wound, and several balls went through his cloaths. The duke of Broglie now advised him entirely to relinquish his studies for a military life, which he did, with his father's consent; and the motto of one of the regiments he served in was, *Fais ce que dois, advienne que pourra*, which Dumouriez says he made the maxim of his whole life. We shall not, however, follow him throughout the various campaigns of this war, as he adds but little to the general stock of historic information. He informs us, that a small library was part of his campaigning equipage. It may be curious to know that the contents of this library were, *The Bible*, Montaigne's *Essays*, Horace, the Commentaries of Cæsar, Montecuculi, the *Parfait Capitaine* of the duke de Rohan, the Memoirs of De Feuquieres, and Blond's *Geometry*. "When you travel," said Dr. Johnson, "and can have but one book, let it be a book of science." Dumouriez avoided all temptations to idleness, and lived much alone, employed in his studies; yet his open and gay manners prevented him from having any enemies among his companions. At the end of the war, he was honoured with the cross of St. Louis.

After the peace, his regiment passing through the little town of Pontaudemery, he went to visit an aunt, a sister of his

his father, between whom, however, and his father, there had been a long and implacable enmity, arising from some dispute about property. Here he became enamoured of his youngest cousin, much to the satisfaction of the mother, and he remained the winter with her, dating his letters from St. Lo, in order to deceive his father. The father, however, having discovered his retreat, writes to his sister a most severe expostulation, and besides accusing her of interested views in the match, throws out hints (very unbecoming a virtuous man, as Dumouriez says) of the most atrocious kind, respecting the character of her daughters, and declares that he will never consent to the union. He accompanies this with a sharp letter to his son, ordering him immediately to join his regiment. The aunt, inflamed with the same proud rage, threatens to send the young lady to a convent if she persists in marrying young Dumouriez. The issue is that she is sent to a convent, accompanied by her sister, and Dumouriez goes to Abbeville. By this fatal letter was a family made miserable who did not deserve it. Dumouriez beheld the scene with a mute despair. He loved his father; he owed his education to him, but he could not forgive his being the cause of his cousin's indisposition, for she went away ill. He could not bring himself either to be revenged on his father, or to let his hardness of heart go unpunished. Himself had been the innocent cause of the misfortunes of this family, yet he saw no hopes of redressing them, as he must be disinherited. Distracted by these reflections, he set out and wandered as far as Dieppe, where he met with several friends, to whom he imparted no hint of his design, but purchased five grains of opium, and met his friends at supper cheerfully. He then shut himself up, wrote a letter to his father, thanking him for his education, and assuring him of his affection, to which he was about to die a victim. This letter he sent by post, and swallowed the opium in a cup of water. But a minute after, he began to view this act in a very different light, jumped from his bed, and seizing a lamp in the corridor, swallowed all the oil, which eased his stomach of its contents, and he fainted away. Recovering in an hour or two, he found his way to his chamber, the whole house being luckily asleep. In the morning he wrote another letter to his father, full of penitence, and took his departure. His father, on their meeting, forgave what was past; but a mutual distrust remained for some time between them. He now informs us, that all he received for his services, at the end of seven years, was twenty-two wounds, a useless ornament, a pension of six hundred livres which was never paid, and some debts. He was now twenty-four years of age, without rank or fortune,
living

living at the expense of a father who was infirm, capricious and impatient, and not over-rich.

He resolved to travel, and requested of the duc de Choiseul a passport, and his permission to correspond with him. Having obtained this, he wrote a letter of leave to his father, and went to Italy. His father, with his usual impetuosity, flew to Versailles, and requested a *lettre de cachet* to secure his son, but was appeased by the duc de Choiseul. On his journey, Dumouriez recovered his spirits, visited Genoa, Rome, and Leghorn. Here the war in Corsica presented itself, and not having, upon application, been able to obtain a commission to serve on the side of Genoa, he determined to serve against the Genoese. *N'ayant pas pu y servir pour le Genoïs, il se décide à servir contr'eux.* Never was the spirit of military adventure better depicted than in these few words. He wrote to general Paoli, offering his services with those of four disbanded French officers, whom he fell in with at Leghorn. Paoli sent him a polite refusal. In the mean time, he is intriguing with the enemies of Paoli, who propose to him to go to the duc de Choiseul, and promise that they will overthrow Paoli and surrender to France, provided they receive assistance from that minister; but this Dumouriez declined, and endeavoured to persuade them that the duke would not consent to the proposal in the "existing circumstances." He told them, however, that they should first begin by destroying the faction of Paoli, and then he would negotiate with Choiseul, that he might assist in an *indirect* manner. This being agreed to, Dumouriez drew up the plan of the new republic, and freighting a French ship, set off for Porto Vecchio with the disbanded officers. On his arrival at Vecchio, he moored his ship under *la torre San Benedetto*, at the entrance of the gulph, and went to Sertenne, where he treated with several of the chiefs, who approved his plan. After securing its success by certain manœuvres, he set sail for France, where, however, he encountered various obstacles. For these we must refer to the work itself. Dumouriez's address to the duke de Choiseul is a master-piece of that abominable finess which distinguished the old court of France, and of which there are, perhaps, some *traits* to be found in other courts. When Dumouriez imparted his plan to the duke, he confessed himself struck with it, but said that as the treaty with Genoa had been signed, the time was past. Dumouriez, after stating how the duke might act, if he meant to keep the treaty, represented, that as the treaty was *defensive*, it was consequently *passive*; and, added he, "I can shew you a way not to execute it, without breaking it. Your troops ought to embark on the first of November; retard their embarkation in such a manner,

ner, that no body can suppose you have a design in it. Such delays are easy in maritime expeditions. I shall return directly to Corsica, relieve Ajaccio, which is one of the places named in the treaty: if I do not succeed, you may execute the treaty: if I do, the treaty is in fact broken, and you can tell the Genoese to let matters remain in the state they were, or negotiate upon a new plan."

This fine plan, however, was defeated, and Dumouriez treated with such public contempt at the minister's levee, that he thought proper to leave Paris directly. On foot he wandered to Mons, which he reached early in November, 1763, and where he wrote a long explanatory letter to Choiseul. In a few days he received a large packet, containing a very kind letter from Choiseul,—a letter of nobility which he had never demanded,—the king's permission to enter the Spanish service, which he had asked,—a letter of recommendation to the marquis de Grimaldi, minister for foreign affairs in Spain,—one for the marquis D'Ossun, the French ambassador,—an affecting letter from his father, and a bill for fifty louis. In his journey to Spain, he meets with a singular adventure, too long for us to notice, but which, like his other adventures, is amusing from a slight air of romance thrown over it.

The marquis D'Ossun, to whom he was recommended, received him with great kindness, and advised him to deliberate coolly before he took any step towards being employed. Encouraged by this treatment, he imparted his whole history to the marquis, especially his dispute about Corsica with Choiseul. The marquis flattered him with a prediction, that he would enter France soon with the rank of colonel; and therefore, added he, "I cannot permit you to join the Spanish service." While under the patronage of this minister, Dumouriez made several excursions into Catalonia, Grenada, &c. and wrote a volume, entitled, *An Essay on Spain*, which, with his library, was confiscated by the anarchists of Paris, and was never printed. During his stay at Madrid, he was involved in a duel, where he came off conqueror. On this he observes, that he always detested duels, and has had very few, having always avoided the company of young people. "This species of barbarous courage, adds he, has nothing in common with true valour. A duel is almost always the effect of blinded passion, or unreasonable pride." He often pardoned personal injuries done to him, because having neither publicity nor eclat, he could make up his quarrel, either by himself or by mediators. Such a testimony against the practice of duelling ought to have its weight, as coming from a man whose courage it is impossible to doubt. He concludes the subject with remarking, that this philosophic principle

ciple has become more necessary than ever since the revolution, particularly when in company with young emigrants, who are apt to attribute to him the cause of their misfortunes. This mistaken prejudice of the emigrants of the first edition against those of the others, he considers as particularly unfortunate to the common cause. The total loss of his mistress who takes the veil, and his travels in Portugal, with his ambiguous intrigues there, form the remainder of this chapter.

The marquis D'Ossun's prophecy is now complete, and he is about to go to Corsica as an officer in the French service. The campaigns of 1768 and 1769, in that island, are the subject of the fifth and sixth chapters. His interview with Choiseul is related with his usual vivacity. "Then, said Choiseul, you go and make your arrangements and prepare your equipage. Dumouriez taking confidence, With what, *Monf. le duc*? I have nothing but debts. My father is uneasy and unwell. I have travelled for four years. You approved of my work on Portugal; you were so pleased with my memoir on Corsica that you seem to wish my plan had been adopted; I have nothing in the world but the grant of a pension, which, thanks to the comptroller-general, is not worth more than an oak-leaf; do not enrich me; but pay me what I serve for. The duke, with good-nature and generosity?—How much do you owe, child? Fifteen thousand francs—The devil! it is too much. Let us see. Four years of your pension, 100 louis. Recompense for your labours in Portugal, twelve thousand livres, will you have eighteen thousand livres? Yes, *Monf. le Duc*." The money was paid, and Dumouriez set out for Corsica, in May, 1768. The reader will find the detail of these two campaigns very interesting to the history of that country. Of Paoli and the Corsicans, he speaks with great liberality. He praises their courage in so ably defending that liberty which he came to take from them. The following remarks, although written before the Corsicans submitted to the English crown, are not unimportant.

"At this time, in 1794, the Corsicans belong to nobody: they may be truly free; if they subdue their ferocity, and not submit to foreign masters, they may be happy. They have no natural relation nor resemblance to any other nation in Europe; for which reason they will prove indocile, and impatient under the yoke of another people. They are inclined to an aristocratical government, as all primitive people are, as are the most free savages in America. They must have a chief to govern them, and a very simple constitution. They are religious, hospitable, generous and lofty; they possess all the

the seeds of great virtues. They deserve to be happy, and they will be so if they profit by their condition. It is not the greatness of territory which constitutes the force of republics. They occupy a central point in the Mediterranean, which is so important, that all the maritime powers covet it, and watch one another lest any one get possession of it; and this is what makes the Corsicans safe. General Paoli alone can execute the glorious plan. He has the experience of a war against the French, twenty years of study in England, together with his actual engagements and personal safety. He has but one fault which causes regret in those who judge him capable of this noble enterprise; and that is his age."

Chap. VII. and VIII. give us an account of Dumouriez joining the confederates in Poland in 1770 and 1771. The public are well acquainted with the issue of that struggle, in the dismemberment of the kingdom. On Dumouriez's return to France from his Corsican expedition, he had the mortification to see Louis XV. exposing himself in public with madame Dubarry, of whom he speaks with the contempt of a gallant. He could have *had her* long ago, if he had had any money to pay her! About this time the dauphin was married to Antoinette of Germany. Dumouriez's tribute to her memory is not unjust. "The unfortunate dauphiness arrived in France under the most melancholy auspices. More than six hundred persons were killed on the day she entered Paris; she has lived twenty years in a round of frivolous pleasures and real misfortunes. Calumny has blackened her levity. She had many faults, but she committed no crimes. She long abused her power to make ingrates by her prodigality, but she never made any one miserable by her rigour. Thoughtless and devoid of care in prosperity, she has shewn, under boundless misfortunes, the greatness of an heroic mind. The monsters have made her undergo the punishment of the worst of criminals; they have washed away all her failings, and posterity will contemplate her only as the most unfortunate and the most courageous woman that ever wore a crown."

In Chap. IX. and X. he gives an account of his arrival in Paris, and his being employed in a secret negotiation relating to the revolution in Sweden, which ended in his being arrested by the duc D'Aiguillon, minister for foreign affairs, and sent to the Bastille, unknown to the king, under whose particular directions he had acted. The king had not communicated this circumstance to D'Aiguillon, and Dumouriez lay six months in the Bastille for obeying the king's orders. It is difficult to know, whether the wickedness or the absurdity of

of such a form of government be greatest. Yet such was the mode of conducting public affairs in the time of Louis XV.

Book II. commences with his adventures in the Bastille, which form a valuable and curious addition to the many "secrets" of that "prison-house" which have been disclosed since its destruction. Dumouriez preserved his dauntless spirit in his confinement, and his internal resources appear to have greatly softened its rigours. The governor, too, Comte de Jumiilhac, was a man of humanity and good sense. Dumouriez employed himself here in writing some treatises; his examinations before the commissioners were exactly according to the forms of the inquisition, and he evaded their questions with a happy ridicule. From the Bastille he was sent to the castle of Caen for three months. Here he was a prisoner at large. He mentions, in this place, an anecdote of his sister the baroness de Schomberg, which does her credit. She went to solicit the duc d'Aiguillon in her brother's favour while he was confined in the Bastille. "Madam, said the duke, you do wrong to make yourself uneasy on account of your brother: he diverts himself very well in the Bastille; he is always merry." She answered, with becoming dignity; "Well, Monsieur le duc, that is a proof that he has nothing to reproach himself with, and a motive why you should show yourself just and give him his liberty." On the death of Louis XV. he petitioned the new king for a revision of his trial in the Bastille, but could not obtain it. He was declared, however, innocent, and received very graciously at court. The remainder of this chapter is an account of his marriage. Chapters III. IV. and V. give a detail of several military and civil commissions with which he was charged. At this time his importance with the court appears to have been very high. But we hasten to book III. which commences with what he calls a Picture of France.

As this picture appears to be drawn with fidelity, we shall conclude our present article with a sketch from it—

The words *government* and *constitution*, Dumouriez observes, have always been confounded in France. Monarchy existed for 1400 years; and as the government never had a sure foundation, it underwent many changes and suffered many shocks. It is a constitution only that can determine a government, by giving it a foundation. Without going farther back than Louis XIII. the kings of France always supported their power by arbitrary means. Louis XIII, or rather his prime minister, the cardinal Richelieu, governed by *terror*; Louis XIV. by *dignity*. Louis XV. after enjoying a brilliant reign to the year 1748, fell into contempt. From that time the

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the two supports of the French monarchy, terror and dignity, have eluded the grasp of ministers. The reign of the duc de Choiseul was more shining than solid; his credit was sacrificed to that of a vile courtesan. The monarch possessed no dignity, the minister inspired no terror, and government was degraded. The short reign of the duc d'Aiguillon was marked only by a shadowy attempt to imitate his grand uncle; but being destitute of vigour and genius, and despised by a despicable king, he weakened absolute power by the means which he took to support it, and which were merely intrigues. It is necessary in France that in order to be master, the king must reign himself or let somebody else reign. Louis XV. did neither the one nor the other.

Another cause which supports or destroys all governments, is the state of the finances. The great wars of Louis XIV. those of Louis XV. but, above all, the enormous speculations, destroyed the grand source of the power of kings, and of the tranquillity of nations. Plutarch said, many centuries ago, "There cannot be a greater evil in a state than to render the finances the prey of favouritism, instead of being the recompense of services." In this respect the abuses were extreme. The administration of the finances became a pharo-bank. Each comptroller general brought his disbursements, that is, his projects for squeezing the people; and no sooner was one accepted than it was followed by another. The courtiers sported with the ministers, made and unmade them to secure the booty, and themselves despised the government which they could alter at pleasure, and place or displace the puppets.

No constitutional force existed to check these dilapidations. The parliaments pretended to do it, but they were either bought over, or their remonstrances laughed at; and when they gave uneasiness to Louis XV. with the help of his chancellor Maupeou, he broke them, and created other bodies of judges, under the name of superior councils. The noblesse formed no body. The clergy were a separate republic, and from them gratuitous gifts were drawn. Some provinces had states; but when they wished to offer just remonstrances, they were treated on the footing of rebels. The people were nothing. France was made up of an immense society which had neither nation nor country. Every evil was at its height. For twenty years a general bankruptcy was announced. The abbé Terray, the most wicked and the most able of the comptrollers-general of this reign, declared with impudent confidence that it was an indispensable step. Louis XV. did not dare to take it. Immersed in indifference and debauchery, he found his happiness in adding debt to debt, without any consideration

consideration of his successor. A death, worthy of his profligacy, relieved France, and placed on the throne his grand-son, Louis XVI. a prince worthy of a better fate. No monarch ever commenced his reign with better intentions, or was worse seconded, more traiterously used, and more thwarted. Notwithstanding an education very much neglected, and an outside very unpromising, there appeared all the moral virtues, goodness, justice, œconomy, moderation, and the most valuable of all, a distrust of his own experience and the few advantages of knowledge he possessed.

The first step he took, with the most praise-worthy intention, was to call to him an old man of eighty, once full of mind, an able minister, whom twenty years of exile ought to have cured of a vices of a court. The worthless Maurepas ruined his master who had chosen him as his Mentor, shewed himself only as a fool and a buffoon, composed a frivolous set of courtiers, succeeded in misleading the young queen who had a great character, and which he might have directed to good, seduced the brothers of the king by complying with their prodigality, and effected the ruin of France by making the government contemptible. Behold the man who opened the fatal box whence flew all the calamities and crimes of the French! Unfortunate Louis! Unfortunate queen! It was Maurepas who was the first cause of your martyrdom. If he had had a heart, if he had been sensible of the grandeur of those duties imposed on him by the confidence of the young king, you might still have been living; and if France had not obtained a constitution, at least her government would have regained dignity, and the people would have blessed the Mentor of a good king.

His death (Maurepas's) would have been a public blessing, if in that weak and corrupt court there had been one good man whom Louis XVI. could oppose to the torrent of depravity and weakness which shook his throne, and must soon overturn it. Thirty-eight ministers, who in fourteen years paced through the sinking edifice of monarchy, succeeded in sapping its foundations. Necker had the courage to attempt the first rank of ministry. He had right views, and some talents; but he was a foreigner; he did not know France; it was necessary there should be either a prince of the blood, or one of the most noble families in the kingdom, to be able to encounter, with success, the personal interest, the insolence, the impostures, the avarice, and all the passions which raised an impenetrable barrier between him and his master: he wanted also the two great supports of government, —terror and dignity. Although not deserving the universal enthusiasm which he inspired, he was superior to the contempt which attended the latter period of his ministry.

Louis XVI. had been throughout his whole reign the sport of those persons he loved most. Unable to teach him real vices, they supplied him with artificial ones,—the love of wine and a passionate temperament. But they employed an engine more successful in disgracing him,—that of ridicule. To this were added the follies, the imprudencies of the court, the trial of the necklace, and scandalous stories; and a black cloud of contempt gathered over the heads of the royal pair. The storm has burst; and no man was found in that court to expose himself, to save his prince. All fled,—all abandoned him,—all have gone to carry their complaints and their rage to strangers, and have thickened the tempest to which the king and queen alone were exposed.

Louis did not foresee this. In the integrity of his heart, he sought to remedy the calamities of his subjects. After having abolished vassalage and the torture,—after having endeavoured to provide a great national force by the construction of a harbour (Cherbourg),—after having established an economical system as far as he could, by great reforms in his domestic and military arrangements,—he thought he could set all to rights by appealing to the nation, not as his predecessors did, to deceive and rob them, but to consult with them, as the good father of a family, on the wrongs of the state. Already the nation had anticipated this, by applying their minds to affairs which little affected them before this period.

The American war had formed no great generals; yet the young men who had served in it, had beheld a new people submit to a wise constitution. Their heads were turned. They brought back ill-digested ideas; and wishing to adapt them to the genius of the nation, they inflamed that genius, and kindled a volcano that has covered the land with ashes and ruins. They wanted the phlegm and wisdom of the Americans; then these modern legislators might have been useful.

Louis began his reign with recalling the parliaments,—proving by that step that he did not fear remonstrances. But Brienne, a wicked, bustling and perfidious minister, following the plan of his predecessors, and urged on by a keeper of the seals as bustling but more passionate than himself, issued *lettres de cachet* against the parliament of Paris in 1787, which served only to discover the weakness of the court, and enlighten the people. Brienne and Lamoignon were sacrificed; but the mischief was done. Soon after, the disputes between Necker and Calonne discovered the mysterious science of finances: all the world talked, wrote, and reflected on the government, and it appeared an impossibility to find resources

sources against the evils which had accumulated. The disgrace of Necker created discontent; and in that humour of the nation, Louis and his ministers applied for their assistance. Calonne had overthrown Necker, and the fondness of the public for the latter rendered his successor's career very difficult. He had much spirit, resource, and especially firmness; but had he the virtues which inspire confidence? He composed a great plan of finance in four memorials; it is said that the two last, which he had not time to make public, are very well drawn up. He was afraid to convoke the states general. Already the court had been guilty of one impolitic step respecting that constitutional resource; several writers had been employed in investigating the origin, powers, and rights of those assemblies. The parliament, when consulted, had pronounced that they should be held upon the model of that in 1614, the last which took place in France, and which had trifled with the nation; but the parliament then had been represented in bodies, in the manner of the three orders, and this egoistical decision of the parliament lost them the confidence of the nation, who from this time meditated the destruction of a body, who, in a matter of so much importance, considered only their own claims.

Calonne hoped that if he could get his system of finance adopted in an assembly of the notables, he might be able to elude the extremity of convoking the states general. This error in his calculations turned against him, and brought on his disgrace. Necker was recalled: he owed all to the favour of the people, and he wished to show his gratitude, and secure that favour. He procured to be passed the famous decision of the double representation of the people; and under all these unfavourable auspices, the states general assembled in 1789. The court saw that it was undone.

(To be continued.)

Notice sur la Vie de Sieyes, Membre de la premiere Assemblée Nationale, et de la Convention, &c.

Au Account of the Life of Sieyes, Member of the first National Assembly, and of the Convention. Written at Paris, in Messidor, the second Year of the Republican Era, [June and July, 1794.] Translated from the French. 8vo. 2s. 6d. Johnson. 1795.

TO complete the curious documents respecting the French revolution which have flowed in upon us since the 9th of Thermidor, we are presented with a life of the celebrated abbé Sieyes; and if we are not misinformed, it proceeds from a quarter no less authentic and respectable than the abbé himself.

self.—He was born at Frejus in the department of Var, on the 3d May 1748, and educated at home under a private tutor. His father, however, who was in an office under government and had a small fortune besides, sent him at the same time to receive public lessons at the college of Jesuits with the other children of the town. His abilities attracted the notice of these acute judges of character, and they proposed to his father to send him to their great seminary at Lyons; but this proposal was rejected, and Sieyès was sent to finish his studies at the collège des Doctrinaires at Draguignan. Here he appears to have imbibed a taste for a military life; but his parents, more prudent than he, resisted his solicitations on that score, and recalled him home. The bishop of Frejus, it is added, seduced his father by a promise of speedy advancement, and he was destined to the church. At the age of fourteen, he was sent to the seminary of St. Sulpice; and here it is said he passed ten of the most happy or most dull years of his life.

• During this long interval he had not attended to the theological and pretended philosophical studies of the university of Paris, more than was necessary to pass the ordinary examinations and theses. Urged by his disposition, or perhaps in compliance with the mere want of entertainment to fill his time, and exert his activity, he ran through, without distinction or regularity, every department of literature, studied the mathematics and natural philosophy, and endeavoured to initiate himself into the arts, particularly music. An involuntary inclination, nevertheless, led him to meditation. He was much attached to works of metaphysics and morality; and has often said, that no books had ever afforded him more lively satisfaction than those of Locke, Condillac, and Bonnet. In them he saw men having the same interest, the same instinct, and busied upon one common object.' P. II.

He neglected the formality of the doctor's bonnet, and entered the world at the age of twenty-four.

• He probably may, in his solitude, have formed his mind to the love of truth and justice, and even to the knowledge of man, so often confounded with the knowledge of men; that is to say, with the minute experience of the current intrigues of a small number of individuals possessing more or less credit, and in the narrow habits of their own petty meetings. He confesses that he understood nothing at first of the oblique hints of society; its uncertain manners; the disdain, carried even to contempt, for every thing which is simply truth, and nothing more; and the multitude of little jarring interests and concealed affections, which, animating each individual unknown to the others, forms, occasionally, by its mixed action,

an effect of some interest, though deceptive. Truly, said he, I thought myself a traveller among an unknown people, whose manners required to be studied. He did not change his own. To the continuance of his usual studies he joined merely the diversion of the theatre, which he had not yet seen. p. 12.

He went in 1775 to Brittany with a bishop who was going to be installed—and became successively vicar general, canon, and chancellor of the church of Chartres. He was afterwards deputy to the states of Brittany for the diocese where he had his first benefice. At the same time he was counsellor commissary for the diocese of Chartres to the superior chamber of the French clergy.

While the abbé was thus enjoying the emoluments of the church, we cannot but disapprove that marked disaffection which he professes to have entertained at this time against the Romish religion.—He certainly ought not to have continued a member of a church which he seems to have thought entirely corrupt both in constitution and doctrine, much less to have accepted of what must in such a case be inevitably considered as ‘the wages of iniquity.’

When the provincial assembly of Orleans was formed, Sieyès was nominated a member, not by the advice of the minister, but of those already elected; and he was invited by the assembly to take the presidency of the intermediary commission, the functions of which he performed for some time. He was connected at Paris with some of the members of the parliament, who at that time served their country; and on the day when the chambers were exiled to Troyes, he gave the advice to go instantly to the palace to arrest and *hang the minister*, who signed orders evidently arbitrary, illegal, and proscribed by the people. The success of this measure he thinks would have been infallible.

During his retirement in the country in 1788, he published a pamphlet on the legal powers of the representatives of the French people, then about to be called together. Shortly after he wrote his essay on privileges, and, in a little time, the very popular pamphlet, entitled ‘*Qu'est-ce que le Tiers Etat?*’ Two new clubs were formed at Paris in the beginning of 1789, for the purpose of organising an opposition party in the states general. The first met at the house of Adrian Duport, who was then a great advocate for animal magnetism. The other society met at the Jardin Royal; it was known by the name of the club *des enragés*, and was chiefly employed in the distribution of political pamphlets.—Sieyès was a member of neither.

The question that agitated France on the first assembling of the states (it is well-known) regarded the powers of the tiers état.

état. To establish a uniformity in the cahiers or instructions to the representatives from their constituents, Sieyes drew up a plan of deliberation for the bailliages, of which a great number of copies were printed and distributed. At this time he appears to have been courted by the Orleans faction, and he drew up a short plan which was added to the instructions of the Duke of Orleans (not written by Sieyes) and entitled 'Deliberations à prendre pour les Assemblées des Bailliages.' He denies however any farther connexion with the Orleans party, either then or at any successive period. On the assembling of the states we find the following judicious observations—

'The world is at present disposed to confound dates and facts. An opinion seems to be maintained, that the revolution is the work of a popular tumult, an insurrection. This is far from being the case.

'The profusion and waste of the late reigns, and the finishing stroke given to the revenues of France by that charlatan Calonne, were not the work of an insurrection. The convocation of the states general, which was the necessary, the compulsive effect of these causes, was not the work of an insurrection. The energy of the deputies of the tiers-etat, their firm courage, their enlightened attachment to the true principles of the social order; their calm, solemn, and decisive declaration upon the national functions, which their revision required them to fulfil; were these the work of an insurrection?' P. 28.

The union of the noblesse with the national assembly, our author seems to consider as a disadvantage—

'The minority of the nobles began to mix with the deputies of the people: they seated themselves on the benches of the people forming a party on the left hand. They were prodigal of their caresses, of their *useful protection* in private, of hypocritical flattery in public; and without ceremony, as it were, naturally placed themselves at their head, to direct them in the new political course which was then about to open. The course of affairs was immediately changed. This new species of directors studied how to produce commotion where mere reflection and deliberation were wanted. The manœuvres of intrigue were substituted instead of the hitherto victorious arms of reason; executive sedition was excited where a simple usher would have been sufficient to signify the will of the assembly. These messieurs thus became the *knights of the revolution*; and for what reason? They did not wish to see an order of things established which was inimical to their privileges; they could not consent that a constitution, founded on equality should be seriously

seriously presented to the French. In this project it was necessary, that those men should be paralysed who had acted only for their country, and had done the most effectual service in producing the true revolution.

'The public, whose attention is always directed towards that part where the commotion is greatest, was so profoundly deceived as to attribute all the honour of the labours of the assembly to those who interfered only for the purpose of disturbing them. It is proper to repeat this fact, because appearances have led many persons into great error. Among the members on the left side of the national assembly, there were men who had written and acted with no other view than to produce a constitution, and others who exerted themselves to prevent this effect. These men assumed the name of *Revolutionaries*, a distinction never thought of by those who really produced the revolution.

'Vanity, ambition, and jealousy, soon divided these new leaders. Two parties were formed; the party of Lameth and that of La Fayette. The members of the communes, it must with sorrow be confessed, had the weakness to divide themselves, and become their *followers*, less united by confidence than by the degrading habits of reverence for the nobility.'
P. 30.

To the faction of the Lameths he attributes most of the blunders of the revolution. That of Fayette he thinks was more honest; but he adds that in 1791 they became the dupes of the king, 'who, he asserts, never possessed sincerity,' and whose projected journey to St. Cloud, he remarks in italics, was to have been *plus loin*, still farther. Early in the revolution, Sieyes, who perceived things not proceeding in a train agreeable to his wishes, absented himself from the tribune, 'for which in other respects he found himself little adapted,' but continued to labour usefully in the committees. In June 1791, Sieyes was denounced at the Jacobins as being friendly to the institution of two chambers: and from this time to the end of the legislative assembly he remained perfectly inactive. He even resigned his place in the directory of the department to which he had been elected, and refused the bishopric of Paris, and retired to the country.

'Soon afterwards the incurable pride of the palace, the suspicious movements of the court, the indolence of the ministry, combined with the criminal activity in the army at Paris, in the departmental administrations, and in foreign countries, together with the unhappy coalition which directed the whole, rendered it clear to every unprejudiced individual, that a plan was in progress for a counter-revolution, in favour of royalty

At this crisis, Sieyes did not keep silence, with regard either to the certainty of the fact or the proper means to stop its progress. He had no other opportunity of being useful. He was scarcely on terms of common acquaintance with more than eight or ten deputies at that time; and he had no acquaintance whatever with the most resolute patriots of the capital, who were most capable of defending themselves against the projects of the court. He was even in the most profound ignorance as to what passed amongst them.' P. 43.

The hopes of Sieyes for the welfare of the public were re-animated after the 10th of August, though he says 'in truth they ought to have been depressed.' He was chosen, without his knowledge, a deputy to the convention by three departments. Here he found himself a stranger to almost all the men he met, and particularly so to the men in power. He was also a stranger to the Jacobins, the ministry, war offices, and the commune. In this place is introduced a long declamation on the deplorable state of France while those false ideas of liberty prevailed, which were inculcated by the Jacobin faction. The author intimates that it would have been the part of a wise man to be silent, and let these clouds pass over: but this determination was not perfectly adhered to by Sieyes:—he endeavoured to be in some degree actively useful; and on the 13th of January 1793, brought forward a report on the provisional organisation of the administration of war, which was however rejected.

'He laboured to organize a new establishment for public instruction; which must not be confounded with the incurable madness of fixing dogmatically, and legislatively decreeing the materials of instruction.' P. 54.

This was also rejected, and Sieyes was expelled from the committee of public instruction. Here the mere narrative concludes; but the defence (for the whole pamphlet may be considered as a defence) is carried yet farther. To the reports which were spread, insinuating that his silence and inactivity were mere pretences, and that he played behind the curtain, our author replies at some length, and (we think) is successful in throwing the *onus probandi* on his adversaries.

'La dernière des absurdités, inventées sur notre auteur, consiste à le placer parmi les *faiseurs de Robespierre*. Ce bruit a de la vogue chez l'étranger; et dans l'intérieur, chez un grand nombre de personnes, qui vont écoutant, répétant, tout ce qui se dit, sans jamais rien examiner. Ceux, qui auroient pu s'y laisser tromper, jugeront de la vérité, par un fait sur lequel il est bien impossible d'en imposer, dans la position où il se trouve, et au milieu de tant de témoins.

' Sieyes

* Sieyes n'a jamais adressé la parole à Robespierre, ni Robespierre à Sieyes: il n'y auroit à cela rien que de naturel, s'ils n'avoient pas été l'un et l'autre des deux assemblées constituante et conventionnelle. Mais cette circonstance ne sert qu'à rendre le fait plus remarquable. Jamais il n'y a eu, entre ces deux hommes, un seul mot de correspondance, parlé ou écrit; jamais ils ne se sont trouvés ensemble, ni à table, ni dans la société; jamais, jusqu'à ce jour du moins, ils ne sont restés assis à côté l'un de l'autre à l'assemblée. Robespierre a attaqué Sieyes sans le nommer trois ou quatre fois, soit aux Jacobins, soit à la convention: celui-ci n'a pas fait de réponse. L'état de leurs rapports est court, comme l'on voit; il n'en contient pas moins toute la vérité pure, notoire, et sans exception. Sieyes est par conséquent le dernier homme auquel il soit permis de songer pour former une accolade avec Robespierre.' P. 61.

'The last of the absurdities invented respecting our author, is that which places him among the underlings of Robespierre. This report has been much credited in foreign countries, and likewise at home, by a great number of persons who listen to all they hear, and repeat it without examination. Those who may have suffered themselves to be deceived by this report, may judge of its truth by a fact in which deception is impossible, in his situation, in the midst of so great a number of witnesses.

'Sieyes never addressed a single word to Robespierre, nor Robespierre to Sieyes; a circumstance not at all remarkable, if they had not both belonged to the constituent and conventional assemblies; but this circumstance serves only to render the fact more remarkable. There never took place between these two men, a single word of correspondence, either by speech or writing; they never met together, either at table or in company; neither have they, to this very day, at any time, sat beside each other in the assembly. Robespierre has attacked Sieyes without naming him, three or four times, either at the Jacobins or the convention, but received no answer. It may be seen therefore, that the statement of their connection is made in few words; but it is not on that account the less true, notorious, and unexceptionable. Sieyes is therefore the last man who can be imagined to have formed any intimacy with Robespierre.' P. 65.

We have pursued a similar mode in our examination of this pamphlet as in that of M. Louvet. Both the original and the translation lay before us: we made use of the former in making our abstract, but have taken our extracts in general from the latter; and in one instance we have extracted from both,

both, in order to enable our readers more perfectly to judge for themselves. The original is less animated and indeed less interesting than Louver's pamphlet; the translation is more elegant, and appears very correct. The character of Sieyes is certainly placed in rather a new light by this pamphlet; and we hope, for the credit of genius and literature, that it is the true one. He is certainly a man of considerable talents, but still he is too metaphysical and visionary:—his political opinions are not sufficiently simple to afford a solid foundation for a practical system. Age and experience will however probably correct this; and as his views are extensive, he is well calculated to act a useful and conspicuous part among the legislators of a free state.

Subjoined to the narrative, is a declaration proposed to the patriots of the 83 departments in 1791; and another of the Rights of Man, which was submitted to the constituent assembly, and was (if we are not mistaken) translated before into English by a foreign nobleman then resident in this country.

Christiani Gottlieb Schwarz, Professoris quondam in Universitate Altdorfina celeberrimi, Opuscula quædam Academica varii Argumenti. Collegit atque præfatus est Theophilus Christophorus Harles. Cum Tabulis æri incis. 4to. Norimbergæ. 1793.

Academical Disquisitions on various Subjects, by the late Professor Schwarz of Altdorf, with a Dedication by the Editor, T. C. Harles, &c.

THE inquisitive turn of the author, in conjunction with his assiduity and learning, rendered him eminently successful in every pursuit he embraced; but to those unacquainted with his writings, it will be no slight commendation, that professor Harles is their editor*. The volume here announced consists of nine dissertations, some written at considerable intervals of time from the rest, yet all equally conspicuous for acuteness and erudition. Of these tracts the first is entitled *Miscellanea politioris Humanitatis*; and in it some monumental remains of antiquity, and passages in authors, are explained. The particulars are—a monument erected to Cornelia Salonina Augusta, found near the conflux of the Temes and Bister, in Temeswar—*De Collegio UTRICULARIORUM* (On the fraternity or company of artificers who made corricles, or vessels

* See C. G. Schwarzii Dissertationes (XI) Selectæ, 4to, Erlangæ, 1778—and Exercitationes Academicæ (IX), &c. Norimbergæ, 8vo. 1783.

of skins for the passing of rivers)—On an ancient gem exhibiting a sacrifice to Bacchus—On an ancient marble representing the Bacchanalian pomp—On a short address of Metius Voconius to the Emperor Tacitus.

The second tract contains an exposition of an ancient inscription relative to Æsculapius and Hygeia, divinities propitious to mankind; for the purpose of illustrating the Epistle to Titus, c. iii. v. 3.

Dissertation the third is on the *divinities bearing keys*, to illustrate the Apocalypse, c. i. v. 18.

The fourth dissertation enters at considerable length on the the subject of the pillars of Hercules, occasioned by the representation of pillars—still preserved on the coins of Spain—in commemoration of them, on a medal in honour of Charles the Fifth.

The fifth is a dissertation on the term *γραμματεὺς*; the magistrate of the cities of proconsular Asia being so styled.—Acts xix. 35.

The sixth dissertation relates to the emperor Maximin, and has for its leading object to illustrate the fragment of an ancient inscription found in the fields near Oehring, a town subject to the princes of Hohenloe.

The three last dissertations concern the origin of printing.

In the whole number of these disquisitions, there is not one but would afford the most satisfactory extracts; as a specimen however of the author's manner, we will give a view of the *fifth*.

After a pertinent introduction on the utility and pleasure that result from inquiries into the various manners and customs of the Greeks and the Romans, their wisdom, government, and the like, more especially when applied to the illustration of scripture,—he adverts to the subject in question. Having cited the verse from the Acts, he thence goes forward to observe, that though mention is frequently made, in the Old Testament and the New, of the סופרים and γραμματεὺς or scribes amongst the Jews, which learned men have shewn to be divided into *ecclesiastical* and *civil*, the latter class consisting of *chancellors, secretaries to kings, presidents over cities, and military charges*, as well as *notaries*, [See 2 Sam. viii. 2, 3. 2 Kings, xii. 10. xviii. 18. xix. 2. 1 Chron. xxvii. 32. 2 Chron. xxvi. 11. Esther, iii. 12. viii. 9. Jerem. xxxvi. 12, 20, 21. lli. 25. Psal. xlv. 2.] and the former, styled in the New Testament γραμματεὺς, or *public interpreters of the scriptures*, and who were often joined by the chief-priests and elders—[See Matt. ii. 4. xvi. 21. xx. 18. Mark viii. 31. x. 33. Luke ix. 22. xix. 47. Acts iv. 5.]—neither of the Roman scribes, the different classes and functions of whom are distinguished; nor
of

of the *Athenians*, concerning which he hath given a brief dissertation— but of the *Asiatics*; he next proceeds to state the extent of *proconsular Asia*, under which denomination he includes *Ionian*, *Æolis*, *Phrygia Major and Minor*, *Lydia*, *Mysia*, and *Caria*, with the neighbouring islands of the *Ægean sea*; and having explained the different titles of the magistrates deputed from Rome both before and after the changes made by Augustus, and shewn that these districts, transferred by that emperor to the senate and people, were governed by those who had been consuls or prætors, under the name of proconsuls, he thence considers these countries in the aggregate as constituting *proconsular Asia*. As however this vast extent of districts abounded with cities,—so, many of them were held to be more noble than the rest: after therefore distinguishing some of the chief, as *Ephesus*, *Smyrna*, *Sardes*, *Miletus*, &c. he in the next place mentions their magistrates, as they differed in dignity and office, in reference to their religious rites, their games and their feasts, but without insisting upon them, or their titles; nor upon those of the civil order, for example, *αρχων*, *στρατηγος*, *πρυτανις*, *γραμματευς*, *επιστατης*, *πολιάρχος*, excepting the *γραμματευς* only: and after having remarked that the chief magistrate of one city had sometimes this title, but in others was styled *στρατηγος* or *αρχων*, he immediately comes to his subject.

The first question is, on the monuments of what cities the title of *γραμματευς* chiefly occurs? Accordingly, after every research, it is found most often on those of *Ephesus*, next of *Smyrna*, and *Magnesia*, in *Ionian*; *Sardes*, and *Tralles*, in *Lydia*; *Pergamus*, *Cyzicus*, and *Adramyttum*, in *Mysia*; *Nyssa*, and *Antioch*, in *Caria*; and *Lacdicea*, in *Phrygia*; and possibly other monuments or coins hereafter may shew, it was the magistrate's title in some other cities. It is, in the next place, observed that however easy it be to ascertain the application of this title to the principal cities of proconsular Asia, there is scarcely aught more difficult than to fix the precise functions of the magistrate himself: for, though it be evident that the word *γραμματευς* is formed from *γραμμα*, a letter, and *γραμμα* from *γραφειν* to write,—yet the Latin term *scriba*, which answers to the appropriate notion of *γραμματευς*, is far from adequate to express the dignity appertaining to the *γραμματευς* of Asia. Nor is the professor convinced that, because the *γραμματεις* of Athens were so named from their recording on tables the laws enacted, and having the charge of them, it is sufficient to justify the application, from analogy, of the same office to the Asiatic magistrates; and this in particular as there were different appellatives appropriate to each function, the one being styled *γραμματευς* of the senate, or of the people, [Μ. Ρα. Ρουφος γραμματευς

ματεὺς βουλῆς, δημοῦ βεβίος. *M. Ra. Rufus, scribe of the senate: Bebius, of the people*] and the other ὁ γραμματοφυλάξ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ δημοῦ. The author, therefore, is inclined to conjecture that, though the title of *Γραμματεὺς* had its reference to the office of writing in the first instance, it afterwards might have become a title of honour, just as has happened in respect to names in the middle ages, for instance *Butler, Marshal, Chancellor*, &c. which by use were transferred from the person to his office.

To prove that the *γραμματεὺς* of the Asiatics was their chief civil magistrate, it is shewn by abundant authorities,—1. from his possessing the power of convoking public assemblies,—2. from all public acts and coins bearing his name, and the year, &c. being dated by it. And besides that this title belonged to the chief magistrate in a city, it was sometimes conferred on nobles and princes. Thus it occurs on the reverse of a coin of Augustus, in conjunction with the name of Tiberius, which the professor hath taken occasion judiciously to explain. After adverting to the use of the term in reference to military secretaries, and the registraries at the sacred games and musical contests, he next advances to prove that the dignity of the Ephesian *γραμματεὺς* was sometimes conjoined with the priesthood. This point being established, and the inscriptions on two other coins most clearly made out, the author very pertinently observes that *Γραμματεὺς*, in Acts xix. 35, should be rendered, as it has been by the Syriac translator, in terms equivalent to *princeps civitatis*. Then stating his reasons, which are supported by quotations, against the admission of *scriba* for *γραμματεὺς*, and objecting to the German term *Schreiber* for the same purpose, he substitutes *cantzler*, as nearer to the sense than any other term that language can supply.

Professor Harles, in his dedication to *Morelli*, the librarian of St. Mark's at Venice, and *Garatoni*, of the Barberini at Rome, informs them that he has other tracts of our author, which, if encouraged by them, he shall probably be induced to bring forth. We have no doubt that in expressing our earnest wishes that they may not be withholden, their hopes also will be found to concur.

Literarischer Briefwechsel von Joh. Dav. Michaelis geordnet und heraus gegeben, von Joh. Gottlieb. Buhle. Prof. zu Goettingen. 8vo. Leipfig.

THE name of Michaelis is so well known in the critical and theological world, that his literary correspondence must be considered as an interesting present to the public. In these letters is given a detail of various transactions in which the author was engaged. We find here a circumstantial account of the Danish travels into Arabia, in several letters from the ministers von Bernstorff, Forskael, von Halem, Navarre, Franz Thiery, John Collet, and others, to Michaelis, as also some good instructions for the journey from Kall, Ascanius, Order, and particularly from Krazenstein. It was not before so well ascertained, that the chief and most useful regulations for the journey were projected entirely by Michaelis. Bernstorff left every thing exclusively to him. Michaelis alone appointed the learned associates von Haven, Forskael and Niebuhr. By the letters of Professor Kall it appears, that this influence with the Danish minister excited some degree of jealousy; but Michaelis used it only for beneficial purposes, and it procured letters from the king of Denmark to the court of Versailles, which assured the safety of the university, while the French army was in possession of Goettingen.

The Arabian journey was intended at first to be made by the way of Tranquebar. The plan was altered by von Haven. (p. 420). The letter of Franz Thiery (p. 436) in consequence of some more exact inquiries on the history of the small-pox among the Arabians, is valuable: and from an interesting letter written in the year 1757 (p. 180) by Schloezer, we see with what enthusiasm he had determined on a journey into the east, which must have been productive of many gratifications to the lovers of eastern literature. The correspondence between Michaelis and Premontval is honourable to both parties. In spite of his singularities, the French philosopher gains upon our affections. From some passages in these letters, the commonly received opinion, that the old Prussian government was, from its partiality for natural religion or deism, intolerant to men of other persuasions, may be corrected. Michaelis was himself once of this opinion; and indeed it was zealously promulgated by the enemies of Frederick, to create a prejudice against him among the protestants, who looked upon him as their champion against popery. Premontval gives him true notions upon this subject in a letter in the year 1754—‘Do not conceive the idea of Berlin, that it is a city, in which any man is at liberty to attack religion in his

writings.

writings. An officer by the name of Cat will tell you a very different story. He has been in prison for these two months for four wretched pages, entitled, 'A Project to abolish Christianity.' Premontval was in some difficulties from a similar cause in the year 1756. 'You cannot imagine, says he in one of his letters, what a strange suit they have instituted against me at Berlin. You see that you are but little acquainted with this Berlin. With the rest of Europe, you have imbibed a prejudice that it is a city peopled only with freethinkers. I will not say that there is more religion here than elsewhere: but the mask of religion is just as common and as serviceable, with the privilege of taking it up or laying it down as most suits a present purpose. For example, I can assure you that they who cry out against me as a man of bold sentiments when they are in company with those who either are or affect to be religious, speak of me before those who have no religion, as an enthusiast, that is, in their language, as a devotee.'

Several letters relate to the endeavours of Michaelis to procure for the astronomer Mayer and his family the prize for the discovery of the longitude, in which the patriotic Best was also very useful to many of his countrymen. The well-known dispute on this subject, in which the character of Michaelis was so much at stake, cannot be determined by these letters, as the later ones are wanting. This is the case also with the correspondence between Reiske and Michaelis. As Michaelis's fame did not depend solely on his Arabic literature, and Reiske, as an academical teacher, was never a formidable rival, it is not probable that Michaelis out of jealousy should have prevented the invitation to Reiske to print at Goettingen with the royal types an Arabic manuscript. The remaining letters relate chiefly to oriental literature; from Jablousky and Scholz on the Coptic; from Aurivillius on the natural history of the Arabians; from Glocester Ridley on the Philoxenian version; in the latter we discover a man making great pretensions, but whose edition, with whatever sounding words it is ushered into the world, shews no great depth of knowledge in the editor.

There are a few letters from Lessing and Mendelssohn. In one letter written in the year 1754, the following character is given of Mendelssohn. 'He is really a Jew, between twenty and thirty years of age, who without any instruction has arrived at great eminence in the languages, in the mathematics, in philosophy and in poetry. I foresee that he will be an honour to his nation, if he is not retarded by his sect, which at all times has pursued with great intolerance men of his character. His sincerity and philosophical
genius

genius make me look on him as a second Spinoza, whom he certainly resembles in every thing but his errors.' We find also some letters from Jacobi on private societies in the universities, and some from Franke on the state of the Jews in Cochin and Surat. It is to be hoped that in the second part there will be given a good index of names and things, which in this volume is very much wanted.

Testament Politique de son Excellence le Comte de Mercy Argenteau, Ambassadeur de sa Majesté Imperiale à la Cour de France, décédé à Londres, le 25 Août, 1794. 2 tom. 8vo. De Boffe. 1794.

IT has long been the custom on the continent to convey political sentiments to the public under the name of some distinguished character lately deceased; and in conformity with it, a zealous royalist has given us the political will of Mercy Argenteau, a name every way calculated to suit his purposes. We should not choose, however, to give as an internal argument against the probability of the supposed testator having written this will, that it is filled with too much invective against the French revolution and the abettors of it; for we have seen, from the fury of Mr. Burke upon this subject, that men of all nations, even those who ought as standers-by to possess more moderation and judgment, have been equally led away by their passions and their prejudices. Though we do not look upon Mercy Argenteau as the writer of this work, and have many objections to the spirit with which it is published, we shall do the author the justice to say, that it comes from no mean pen, and that if he had not been too much interested on one side of the question to view things in a proper medium, and to give some degree of credit to his antagonists, many of his reflections on the present state of France would have appeared to greater advantage, and might have produced more beneficial effects on those who either espouse or oppose his favourite opinions.

This work was first published in numbers, for fear (the editor tells us) it should be too soon forgotten, and that by bringing together every thing relating to one head in the same number, a greater degree of attention might be paid to the discussion of it. The will is divided into several heads,—on public opinion—on public spirit—on peace with the French republicans—objections against the continuance of the war—on the spirit of party—on taxation in France before the revolution—on the people of France—on the third estate—on the clergy of France—on the French nobility—on the states general
of

of France—on a national assembly—on the assembly of notables—on the parliaments of France—on the French constitution—on the government of France—on the established religion of France—on the emigration of the French—on the regency of the kingdom of France—on sovereignty—on power—on the rights of society—on equality—on liberty—comparative examination of the constitutions of England and France—on aristocrats and democrats—a political and religious catechism.

Public opinion is declared to be inimical to the French revolution, 1. Because revolutions in general are affirmed by the wise of all ages and countries, to be the greatest plagues of the human race: 2. Because it is blamed by men of talents in every country in which it is known, though the author allows that the majority have kept a prudent silence on this subject, which he supposes to be in favour of his own opinion; —[We cannot so well determine on the opinions of other countries: but in our own we have no scruple to affirm that the majority, and a very great majority of writers, has been in favor of the French revolution]—because the principal governments of Europe are against it; because, though some few nations have forgotten the old treaties with France, they will sooner or later become the victims of their fondness for French principles. Some other reasons are given, but none satisfactory, to convince us, that, independent of the atrocities committed by some factious men under the new system, the public opinion was not in favour of that revolution, which, in 1789, destroyed the tyranny and intolerance, both civil and religious, which disgraced human nature for so many ages in France, and which have been the universal theme of detestation with our ancestors, in their writings both private and public. Against the general opinion of our ancestors, the author will enter his *veto* to the contrary; for he tells us, that history bears testimony that the French have always been happy, except in those periods when their public spirit, which consisted in an unlimited affection for their religion and their king, had been attacked.

The great difficulty in subduing the French has been in general attributed to the unanimity which prevails among them in favour of the new system: but if we are to believe our politician, a great majority of the nation is against the revolution—His mode of reasoning is conclusive, and puts us in mind of the conversation we are sometimes under the necessity of hearing, when in company of people who give to themselves the name of fashion—The playhouse was crowded, or the park was crowded, but there was no company in either place; the town is quite empty, though at the moment when

these fine gentlemen and fine ladies are lisping out their fine speeches, about a million of human beings like themselves were in this town following their business or amusement. In the same manner several millions of the French are cut off in a moment!—they are nothing, they tell for nothing! What can be clearer? the French nation consists of twenty-five millions of people, of which, according to the generally received principles of computation, twelve millions are male, and thirteen millions female. The females we have nothing to do with:—remain twelve millions of males. Subtract, from these, seven millions under twenty-five years of age:—remain five millions, which alone can be properly called the nation. These five millions are divided into three classes, each class equal in political rights,—the clergy, the nobility, the commons. The clergy consisted of two hundred thousand individuals, the nobility of fifteen thousand families, or seventy-five thousand individuals. Of the clergy above three-fourths have been against the revolution. Among the nobility there are scarcely two hundred individuals of revolutionary principles. The commons are to be distinguished into two classes,—those who have and those who have not political rights. Of the latter, the young and the unreflecting, with a croud of people without property, without *existence*, without character, and strangers, have gone over to the new government, and call themselves the nation. Among those who have political rights, a very great part has imitated the conduct of the two other orders; and the others through necessity have been obliged to march under the banners of a faction which they detest. Thus almost the whole of the three estates of the French nation have been, and continue to be, the enemies of the French revolution. With respect to property, the author would make it appear that almost all the men of property are anti-revolutionists; but, unfortunately for his argument, those men of property have now lost it: and the men without political rights have found out that they ought always to have had political rights; and neither his sophistry, nor the arms of the barbarians of Austria, nor the gold of Great Britain, will convince these obstinate fellows that they are in the wrong.

It is curious to see how prejudice will blind the eyes of a partisan. The dismembering of Poland becomes justifiable, because the revolutionists of Poland concerted, as our author tells us, at Paris, the constitution which they adopted in 1791. The courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg were acquainted with this felonious measure, and disconcerted it by a second dismembering of Poland:—policy commanded this measure, violent as it was, and humanity justified it: for dismembering is more humane than a revolution, al-

ways accompanied with civil and foreign wars. Every one of our readers, we presume, maintains too much of the English character, not to abhor this political and humane measure, to be justified only on the same principle which gives a sanction to leagues of banditti. But our author is a resolute man: no fact disturbs him; glory, honour, victory, accompany everywhere his heroes. The duke of Brunswick, we are told, by defending the cause of the confederate powers, defends also his own:—his arm, to this moment invincible, is worthy to defend crowns and to lift up the fallen thrones: he is Hercules re-appearing in Europe to destroy a new race of robbers.—Poor Hercules!

The campaign of 1794 is set off in very brilliant colours. Every day of this campaign discovered a retreat more difficult and more honourable for the allies than a victory. Such were the triumphs of every day, of every division of the combined armies, which democrats called flight, and ignorant people believe to be a flight. How are we and our readers to get out of this dilemma? Perhaps it will be better to confine ourselves to the new military terms—The combined armies were daily triumphant in retrograde motions, and the French (poor cowardly fellows!) did nothing but follow at a distance.

A retreat or flight we have now discovered to be a retrograde victory:—a swinging debt will soon be proved to be better than a good estate; and in fact, we do not proceed far before this notable discovery is made. The debt of England, says our author, is one of its treasures, whose base is founded on all the real and fictitious riches of the nation. They who declaim against this debt are either not acquainted with the nature of it, or men of bad intentions. England lends to itself, and is in debt to itself: and as long as it has confidence in itself, it may continue without risque to increase its debt. It has, besides, the means, whenever it pleases, of diminishing this debt: but should it use these means, much bitter declamation would be made against the payment of the debt, for there would be then more capitals than means of employing them. They who should propose to pay off the national debt, would deserve only the treatment of madmen; but the most dangerous enemies of the English nation are they who would destroy its confidence in its public debt.

A debt is an advantage; taxes also are advantageous, for three hundred thousand fathers of families were employed by the old government of France, in the management and receipt of the taxes:—thus, in the very onset, they fertilised a fifteenth part of the kingdom. What a blessing! What a comfortable hearing this is for our own nation! The more taxes we have, the more persons will be employed in gathering

them; the more persons thus employed, the greater the happiness of the nation!

The French have already been mentioned as the happiest people in the world. In one place the proposition is thus made out—‘The ease of a people depends on two things, on the necessities of life, and its sobriety. In both those respects the people of France is most at its ease of any people in Europe: it is the best fed, because the variety and abundance of the productions of the earth are gifts which nature almost gratuitously bestows on the French. The temperature of the climate, and a long habit of happiness, give them the advantage of being the best clothed and the best lodged of any people. The most astonishing thing is, that with so numerous a population, there should be so very small a number of people living in the country in a state of absolute poverty.’ What astonishes us most is, that in travelling over the greater part of France, we could never find out these proofs of superior happiness. In the great towns, the higher orders of the people seemed to be much at their ease; but as to the lower orders, their dress, their cottages, and their food, were worse than those of the same order in most of the counties in England, and in some villages the number of beggars was out of all proportion to the size of the place.

But our author’s notions of the happiness of the people are very confined. ‘The people, says he, can be happy in only one way: its physical, moral, and intellectual existence is confined within an infinitely narrow circle; and to every thing beyond that circle, it is very indifferent. For its happiness it must have labour, it must know nothing of what passes beyond its own circle. They who either by humanity or philosophy wish to extend the circle made for the people, its sphere for morality or intellectual attainments, are its greatest enemies (its *bourreaux*). They on the contrary, who would narrow this circle instead of extending it, who would fill it with labour (for labour is happiness) universally are the benefactors of the people. The people are not to be kept entirely ignorant: they are to know however only what is necessary to constitute their happiness. ‘We cease to wonder that our author thought his poor countrymen so very happy; for scarce any of them could read and write; they were forbidden the use of their bibles, and had hard labour in abundance.

The venality of law offices in France used to be considered by our ancestors as a most profligate thing: but our author tells us that it did not injure the splendour or purity of those functions: riches alone were not sufficient for magistracy; some other conditions were requisite. The vulgar confound the venality of offices with the venality of justice. Is it not infinitely

infinitely more probable that a rich man will not have the temptation to sell his vote? If the *esprit de corps* has not a hold upon him, how will he escape the delicacy and watchfulness of his colleagues? What does election do for the magistracy?—people with influence fill it with their own creatures: cabal and intrigue places there the factious: vice removes virtue from it, and folly is preferred to true merit. At least venality has certain advantages; it is useful to the finances; it creates in the state fictitious riches in the stead of immoveable and real riches; it favours labour, emulation, and the elevation of the first class of the *tiers état*; lastly it serves as a caution for the conduct of the magistrates. We are, however, vulgar and absurd enough to think with *our* ancestors, that the venality of law offices was attended with a variety of evils; and should the horrid system take place, as it threatens to do, in our country, we may bid adieu to the excellence of our constitution.

An opinion has prevailed in France and elsewhere, that it has never had a constitution: and to convince the world that it has always had one, we are referred to various records in which the constitutional laws of the French monarchy may be studied: among these are the Salic law settled by Clovis in the year 51,—the councils held at Orléans, Attignis, and Paris, under the first race of kings,—the capitularies of Charlemagne and those of Louis the Debonnaire,—the ordinances of Philippe Auguste and those of Charles the fifth,—the establishments of Saint Louis,—the proceedings of the states general from the year 1303 to the present times,—general and particular customs,—edicts, declarations, and solemn ordinances of kings, received by the formal or tacit consent of their subjects,—with many other things, which, with all ancient and modern history, are much more than our readers or any of the emigrants will choose to consult upon this important subject.

We allow with great ease that France has always had a constitution; whether a good or bad one, our readers must judge. To limit the power of the king, says our author, it had not recourse to the division of power; it was too wise to oppose one power to another power; to aim at sympathising two antipathetic beings, or at establishing equilibrium and order in the midst of anarchy. It is a great folly to weaken and enervate power under pretext of having less to fear from it:—a power contradicted, embarrassed, without energy, is more hurtful than useful. Alas! what are we to say, after this, for our English constitution? It is well for the author that he writes in French. Perhaps, however, he would vindicate himself by another passage, in which he says that all constitutions are good, provided that they are obeyed; which

we take to be nothing more nor less than downright nonsense. The obedience paid to a despotical government will not render it to our taste a bit more palatable. Perhaps he may be nearer the truth, when he says that it is an error to think that there can be a constitution able to place the sovereign in the happy state of doing no wrong: he would then be a *souverain automate*:—a king is a man, and is the most exposed of all men to do wrong. If this is the case, what becomes of the maxim with us, that the king can do no wrong? But if we allow this to our author, we can by no means agree with his encomiums on the old government of France; nor do we believe the time approaching, when the general opinion shall again prevail, that, of all the governments of Europe, the French was the mildest and the nearest to perfection.

On the subject of religion there are some curious remarks. A distinction is made between a national religion and the religion of government. They are both declared to be unreasonable things, and incapable of existence. The former cannot subsist where there are dissenters; and no nation is known, unanimous in its opinion on religious subjects. If by the religion of government is meant the religion of the king and the officers of state, the nation might often change its religion, which is besides degraded by being made an instrument to the hypocrisy and ambition of men. The form of a government is intelligible; the means it employs to maintain the execution of the laws may be understood; but the religion of a government has no meaning. If religion is a law, it belongs to the code of laws, and not to government, which itself also belongs to laws. Religion of government is therefore an absurd term. The disadvantages suffered by the protestants in France are concluded with these excellent reflections—'Neither tyranny nor reason can make the religious opinions of the same subjects always the same: but reason, and the laws which are the perfection of it, ought always to be the same for the same people. To grant to some a recompense, a privilege, a right, merely because they are of a certain religious opinion, is to corrupt the conscience without giving by it a greater support to the laws or the government: to refuse the same advantages to a person because he is of a different religious opinion, is to punish him for following the dictates of his conscience.—This injustice has not only irritated men, but it has provoked God himself: and his providence, which sooner or later conducts into the abyss nations and governments guilty of making unjust laws'—here the author breaks off, and he probably had in view the severe judgment of God on the French nation, for their intolerance and cruel persecution of the protestants.

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The limits of our Review do not permit us to examine every subject treated of in this work. From what we have set before the reader, he has already formed his opinion of the author's design, which will be confirmed by a few extracts from the comparison between the constitutions of England and France. Both, according to our author, establish the government of a single person. Many in England have their doubts on this position, for they do not agree on the signification of the word *government*. It has been remarked that many writers and speakers in parliament have introduced the term *legislative government*; and if this error were adopted, the government of a single person could not be allowed. According to the theory in this work, the sense of the word government is fixed; for he alone governs who exercises the power. Now, both in England and France, the king alone exercises power; therefore in both countries the government of a single person is established by the constitution. Thus we are brought by degrees to a point which we fear will not be disapproved of by some of our countrymen, though formerly our ancestors could not have heard without horror, that the governments of England and France bore so near a resemblance to each other. In another place we are told, that in France and England the monarch alone exercises a single power. All would be lost if he exercised his own peculiar power; but every thing goes on well because he exercises only that which his subjects have confided to him. All would be lost also, if his subjects exercised the least part of the power of which they are the chief authors, because then they would exercise their own peculiar power. Liberty consists in this—in obeying one's own will: where the monarch governs you only in the name of your own will, there is perfect liberty.—This is curious reasoning; and we would ask at what period the kings of France governed by the will of their subjects; for it is notorious, that for these two last centuries they have governed by means of standing armies.

In many other points the two constitutions are said to resemble each other so closely, that the French and English are united together by their laws, as brothers. The difference of manners, language, customs, makes none of virtue, honour, humanity and reason. The morality of all nations and governments is the same; but unhappily the passions or ignorance of individuals, the false policy of governors, have excited jealousy, hatred and rivalry between nations and governments. England and France have no reason to reproach each other, but each has sufficient ground of self-reproach. For example, does not each suppose the Ocean too limited, and the two hemispheres too narrow, for their specula-

tions in industry and commerce? If the English suffer the French republic to be established,—if they permit the least change to be made in the monarchy,—they give to their ancient rival new force, by which they may in time be crushed. If they raise up the French monarchy, the two nations will become sisters; all rivalry will cease before the generosity of the one and the gratitude of the other. But we may ask the author,—and it is a question which deserves the serious reflection of the reader,—if we should thus raise up the French monarchy, will not the French monarch through gratitude endeavour to assimilate still more our government to his, and to make us as happy as the French are represented to have been, by converting our king into a monarch capable of governing us without the means of parliament, and other devices which our ignorant ancestors introduced as barriers against arbitrary power?

It is evident from the many extracts we have made from this work, that our principles differ very widely from our author's on his theory of government in general, and the particular application of it to the present state of France; and frequently we were much offended by the liberties which he takes, not only with his own countrymen, but with others who are not so much in love with monarchy as himself. It is now evident, he says, that a constitutional royalist (meaning by this term one who supported the revolution of 1789) is a fool or knave; and in other places the abuse cast upon the emigrant nobility who favoured that constitution, is intolerable. From what we have heard of the conduct of the French nobility in England, the constitutionalists will not suffer at all in comparison with the old monarchy men; and, if we chose to point out as he does to public odium the names of any persons, we are sorry to say, that on his side of the question there were too many rioting in the luxury of Versailles, whose characters the public has already considered as disgraceful to any cause, and doing it perhaps as much injury as the arms of their antagonists.

The question is not to be determined by this abuse. In all civil wars there have been worthy men on both sides of the question; and this must be the case as long as man is subject to his present imperfections. The work before us is not likely to allay the passions of the revolutionists, nor to teach moderation to the aristocrats. The latter have already too great a veneration for the old government with all its abuses: and notwithstanding the insidious attempt to bring down our government to a level with French despotism, we shall continue to cherish the free principles of our own constitution, and to hold in contempt, as our ancestors have done before

us, the intolerance, bigotry, corruption, and tyranny of the old French monarchy.

Untersuchungen über die Englische Staatsverfassung nach den neuesten Veranlassungen der Geschichte dieses Landes, von Heinrich Christoph Albrecht. 8vo. 1794.

OF all places in the world, Germany has produced a writer to inveigh against our constitution in a warmer style than Paine and Barlow, or any of their adherents. In his opinion our parliament is so wretchedly constituted, that no possible reform can do it any good; our whole political system, from the earliest date to the present times, has, notwithstanding the many revolutions it has undergone, been nothing but a huge mass of fraud and oppression; our constitution is not worth a jot more than the constitution of Poland,—or rather England has no constitution at all,—it has merely a government.

We must not expect from this writer, that he should give himself the trouble of producing arguments for his assertions, or that the old-fashioned way of reasoning on political subjects should be even admitted. It is sufficient to assert; and the more paradoxical the assertion, with the greater confidence it is made. The first part is divided under two tolerably heterogeneous heads,—history, and philosophy as he calls it. The first has for title, the persecutions of Dr. Priestley by the established church, in which he of course throws the whole blame of the riots at Birmingham upon the church. From this subject he goes to some inquiries on the English church, and maintains that it is not worth what it costs, since in no country does so great and universal a depravity of morals prevail as in England, and the bishops are mere creatures of the state. This brings him to his hobby-horse—the existence of a universal church, to whose establishment a third part of the first volume is dedicated. All the mischief that superstition has produced in the world, takes its origin, he supposes, from Numa. ‘Reflect, says he, on the difference between this grave Roman master of the ceremonies, and a Franklin; and all Europe will be freed from the worship of Jupiter and the institutions of his adorers. We shall have no more pontifex maximus nor pope.’ But what has all this to do with the English constitution, which seems to be here quite forgotten?

In the second volume he resumes his subject, and institutes an inquiry into the real state of our parliament, on which he concludes, that, though the great fault lies in the want of an adequate representation of the people, ‘there never can be a remedy proposed for it, as long as the representatives of the commons are assembled in parliament. All representation belongs to democracy,

democracy, and there cannot be anywhere a democracy unless the people are able to govern themselves. This ability is not in the English nation at present,—not on account of its character, or the want of sufficient spirit; but the inability lies in this, that the interests of the nation and the government are separate, and this circumstance can never be removed so long as the present constitution exists. True national representation is an institution by which the people conduct their own affairs by answerable representatives.'

This is the sum total of our German's system; and we are left to exist without a constitution, or to undergo a total revolution, similar to that which has taken place in France. We should have been more obliged to our politician for a few crumbs of comfort in this desperate state: and bad as he may think us, we shall still cherish a country, in which we are not subject to the tyranny of petty princes, to be sold like beasts to every contending state, nor to be harassed by every species of legal vexation, as in his own empire.

Bemerkungen über Rußland, auf einer Reise gemacht im Jahre 1792 und 1793, mit Statistischen und Meteorologischen Tabellen, von Joachim Grafen von Sternberg. 8vo. 1794.
Remarks made on a Tour through Russia in the Years 1792 and 1793, with Statistical and Meteorological Tables, by Count von Sternberg.

IT was the intention of the writer to travel through Russia into China, there to join the embassy under lord Macartney, and return back with it to Europe. This noble design he was, when at Peterburg, prohibited from putting into execution: and this interruption of his plan has had a great influence on his description of Russia. He laughs at all the authors whose works are filled with encomiums on the present government and trade of Russia; he finds nothing magnificent in the buildings of the metropolis or the splendour of its court; he looks upon the trade of Russia as on the decline, its inhabitants as crushed by despotism, and Peter's plan as either given up by his successors, or not likely to be for some time carried further into execution. We are by no means convinced by his arguments; for his statistical remarks do not seem to have been well digested. On the climate of Russia, or as he observed it during his residence at Petersburg and Moscow, there is, in his second letter, some interesting intelligence. On the fourteenth of September 1791, the frost set in at Petersburg, and continued to the third of May 1792, during which time the thermometer was never above the freezing point. To this letter are subjoined his meteorological observations at Petersburg, giving the daily changes of the weather,

weather, and the height of the barometer, thermometer, and hygrometer. The third letter is on the state of the people, but it is chiefly confined to that of the slaves, whose oppressions under avaricious masters may be great; but we can scarcely believe that a major in Peteriburg, according to this account, sold three soldiers, apparently of his own company, for slaves. There are, however, some good remarks interspersed here and there in these letters, although, as we said before, he seems to have been led away frequently by his prejudices, and the treatment which he received from the court of Peteriburg.

Reflexions sur la Paix. Adressées à Mr. Pitt et aux François.
Debrett. 1794.

THIS pamphlet is attributed to the pen of madame de Stael or Stahl, daughter of M. Necker, and wife, if we mistake not, of the Swedish ambassador to the French republic. It comes therefore with powerful claims on our attention, and it will be found not undeserving of a serious perusal. It is divided into four chapters,—on the present force of France,—on the conduct observed by the coalesced powers,—on the advantages of peace to Europe,—and on the expediency of peace to France. The author disapproves much of the conduct of the coalesced powers, and is of opinion that a general peace ought to be attempted. Such is the general outline: but there are some of her opinions we shall give more in detail.

Speaking of the force or power of France, she observes that all the power of the revolution has consisted in the art of *fanaticising* the public opinion in favour of their political interests. If any one man possessed influence in France, a knowledge of his character, and an attempt upon his ambition, might make it an easy matter to treat with him: but in France opinions and not individuals lead the sway. The French have too much vanity to submit to a chief:—individuals have only been the instruments of this sovereign opinion; the people regard them only as means, and not as chiefs. M. Necker had the good opinion of the people, while they believed him to be an oppressed man; but they resisted him when he wished to become an usurper (*usurpateur*—a harsh word from his daughter, by the way). Mirabeau died in time not to experience the futility of his talents when opposed to the prevailing current. M. La Fayette, faithful to his constitutional oath, and wishing to defend the constitution from the attack of the 10th of August, could retain only twenty unfortunate companions, of all the national guards of France. A similar remark is made on Dumouriez. It is Robespierre only whose frightful power requires to be explained: but, if it may be so said, he was terror personified;

personified ; and uniting in himself all the detestable passions of the Jacobins, he converted the throne into a scaffold, of which he was only the principal executioner : *but* as soon as his designs became manifest, as soon as he pretended to distinction in the empire of criminality, they revolted against him. The convention were no doubt excited by a sentiment of horror and alarm : but at first, the fickle people rallied round the convention in opposition to Robespierre, merely from the preference they always give to an assembly over an individual. The people armed only for themselves ; it was the reunion of the representatives which they defended in the convention : the power of an individual, be he who he may, has nothing democratic in it. After explaining these sentiments more fully, she gives it as her opinion that the majority of France are not enthusiasts in democracy ; yet their hatred of the invasion of foreigners is a general sentiment, and has hitherto united a nation ready to be divided against itself.

France at this time is entirely at the disposal of the convention. The empire, she thinks, may be going to ruin, individuals perish, and all sorts of evils accumulate,—but France will be ruined only with Europe, and in her fall will drag the old world with her. She asks if any one ever conceived it possible to destroy religion by martyrdom?—this chimerical system of equality is a political religion, the enthusiasm of which can be abated only by time and repose. Her opinion of the conduct of the coalesced powers is what few thinking men will differ from. Their want of union and of sincerity would have ruined and disgraced their cause had it been originally good, and the conduct of the emigrants has, more than any other circumstance, been the cause of their defeat. The emigrants, our author observes, instead of attending to the change of public opinion, attempted to revive the prejudices of the fourteenth century. It was their system to terrify France by their menaces, before they had inspired the French with the least apprehension from their numbers or force.

In this chapter she very forcibly points out the absurdity of the contradictory systems adopted by the coalesced powers,—the constitution of 1789, proclaimed at Toulon,—the emperor's declaration at Valenciennes,—the ancient government at La Vendée. In all these was a mixture of weakness and duplicity which could not but injure all parties. The greater part of the errors committed by the combined powers, she very justly attributes to their listening to the complaints and expectations of the aristocratic emigrants. In recommending peace to Mr. Pitt and to the French, her expostulations are warm, and she displays a considerable knowledge of the actual state of this country. She has no doubt that he may obtain peace,
provided

provided he does not dream of the French repaying him the money he has squandered away in fruitless expeditions.

Ist es wahr, daß gewaltsame Revolutionen durch Schriftsteller befördert werden? Eine Frage dem denkenden Publicum vorgelegt und erörtert von C. A. Wichman. 8vo. 1793.

Gedanken über das Unvermögen der Schriftsteller Empörungen zu bewirken von Abraham Gottlob Kästner. 8vo. 1793.

THE above works are on an important subject, and may give rise to many useful reflections. The first author, in inquiring what effect has been produced by writers in France, maintains that the French revolution would have taken place, though Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Helvetius, Mercier, &c. had never existed. The true defence of the liberty of the press, which he wishes to support, does not depend on this opinion: for it is an error to suppose, that, according to the effects produced by writers, the greater must be the restraint on the press. Truth we should all aim at, and the happiness of mankind: and if authors may have great energy on the side of error, there cannot be a doubt that there will be a still greater energy on the side of virtue; and for the sake of a few authors whose fame is but for a moment, should we run the risque of losing the beneficial labours of a Bacon, a Newton, a Locke, and a Hartley?

The second treatise attempts to prove also that writers have no effect at all in insurrections and revolutions. 'They write,' says he, 'a quantity of works which they call books for the people, and songs for the people; but the people neither read them, nor sing them; they have something else to do, and it must be some striking deficiency in government, or some great distress in the people, which ever erects the standard of revolt.'

OCCASIONAL RETROSPECT

OF

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

FRANCE.

MEMOIRES sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse, &c. Mémoires on several Antiquities of Persia, and on the Medals of the Kings of the Dynasty of the Sassanidæ; followed by a History of that Dynasty, translated from the Persian of Mirkhond. By A. J. Silvester de Sacy, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.—The explication of these Persian monuments has long been a desideratum in literature; and that learned orientalist, sir William Jones, in vain attempted to explain the coins of the Sassanidæ in Dr. Hunter's Museum. M. Sacy seems to have entered this difficult career with great success. His work chiefly consists of dissertations read before the Academy between the years 1787 and 1791. The Travels of Chardin and Niebuhr have afforded eminent assistance.

After two dissertations explaining various Greek, Persian, and Cufic inscriptions, the learned author proceeds to give an account of the coins of the Sassanidæ in the national cabinet: and it is to be regretted that he did not also procure drawings of those in Dr. Hunter's cabinet, which are numerous, and some of them unique. They have mostly the king's head on one side, and an altar, with one or two worshippers, on the reverse. Thirteen are here engraved, with alphabets, and the legends in Persian and Hebrew. The general tenor of the inscriptions is, on the obverse, 'The adorer of Ormuzd, the excellent Ardschir king of the kings of Iran, of the celestial race of the gods;' while the reverse commonly bears, 'Ardschir the divine.' Others belong to Sapor, or Saporess, the second and the third of that name; to Varahran or Balam; to Balash, and Sheriar. It is remarkable that Pellerin has published a gold coin of the Sassanidæ, which evinces that Procopius was mistaken in his assertion, that the Persian kings did not strike gold. Yet this gold coin is unique; while the silver types may amount to forty or fifty; among which, perhaps, the most curious, with three heads, of a king, queen, and prince, is engraved in Mr. Pinkerton's Essay on Medals, vol. i. plate 1. n. 10. from Dr. Hunter's cabinet.

In the fourth dissertation, M. Sacy returns to the inscriptions. The translation from Mirkhond is interesting*; and

* It is already translated into Spanish by Texeira, into English by Stevens.

is accompanied with an account of the author, and with notes from an anonymous Persian geographer. The typography of this work corresponds to its importance: and the labours of M. Sacy are entitled to the highest praise.

We have also to congratulate the literary world on the appearance of three volumes of the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*, extending to 1794, being Vols. XLIV. XLV. XLVI. of that grand collection,—one of the most important in the whole circle of science. Vol. XLIV. is only an index to the two preceding volumes.

The chief articles in Vols. XLV. and XLVI. are,

The *Eloges* of the Members who died 1780—1784.

De Guignes on Masudi's Universal History, written about A. D. 950.

Keralio on the Knowledge which the Ancients had of the North of Europe.

Anquetil du Perron on the Mardi, a Russian People.

De Guignes on Pliny's Account of India.

On the Chinese Account of Eclipses, from the Year before Christ 720, to 495.

L'Archer on the Epochs of the Assyrians, and the various Accounts of the Fall of their Empire.

Garnier on the Grecian Laws of War.

Ste. Croix on the Laws of Crotona.

The same on the History of the Messenians.

Garnier on the Satires of Persius.

Bouchard's sixth Dissertation on the Edicts of the Roman Magistrates.

Brotier on the Games of the Circus, considered with regard to their Political Influence on the People.

Ste. Croix on the two first Treaties between the Romans and Carthaginians.

L'Archer on the Epoch of the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus.

De Guignes on the Commerce of the Chinese with the Western Nations.

L'Archer on Phidon King of Argos, Inventor of Weights and Measures.

De Rochefort on the Political Knowledge and Elocution of Demosthenes.

The same on the Character of Theophrastus.

The same on the Plots of Menander's Comedies.

Vauvillier's Essays on Pindar, and Translations of some of his Odes.

Chabairon on a Chapter of Aristotle's Problems relative to Music.

Ste. Croix on the Cyropædia.

Auger's

Auger's Dissertation on the Orator Lycurgus, with Remarks on Lyfias and Ifæus.

Dupuy on Homer's Hymn to Ceres.

Sibort on Cicero's Philosophy.

Brotier on the Knowledge which the Romans had of Silk.

The same on the noted Picture of Ialyfus by Protogenes.

Ameilhon on the Metallurgy of the Ancients.

Keralio on the Origin of the Swedes.

Deformeaux on the French Nobility.

De la Porte du Thal's Account of his Researches into the History of France by Order of Government.

The reader will perceive that these articles are not inferior, in the importance and curiosity of the topics, to those of the former volumes.

Nor has France been deficient in other works of erudition,—Brequigny, and other learned authors, having, in the years 1790 and 1791, published various diplomatic works in folio, chiefly containing charters of the Merovingian race. We are happy to find that literary men, who, if they belong to no party, ought to be cherished by all, are sitting safe under their laurels, while the lightning is striking all around,—and shall rejoice when peace, among her more essential advantages, shall again open to us the literary treasures of France, — a country ever superior to all others in real science of every department, while she gladly resigns to England theoretical mathematics and theology, the puerility of verbal criticism on the classics, and all the visionary provinces of antiquity.

The translation of the Travels of Pallas, by M. Gauthier de Peyroufe, is completed in five vols. 4to. with one of plates. He means also to translate those of Gmelin and Guldensmidt.

Œuvres Posthumes d'Athanase Auger, &c. The posthumous Works of Athanasius Auger, Vol. V: Paris, 1793, 8vo. This volume only contains translations of three of Cicero's orations.

I T A L Y.

The first volume of a Catalogue of the Books printed in the Fifteenth Century, preserved in the library of Magliabechi, has appeared at Florence. It is published by Fossi the librarian. The celebrated Magliabechi left his excellent library for the use of his countrymen; and subsequent donations have rendered it one of the most considerable in Europe. Among the most remarkable articles, are the Aristotle Flor. 1477, the first book with copper-plates; and the Fiore de Vertu, Messina, about 1470, printed by Johan Schade de Messhedi, and Rigoforte de Iserlen.

De Prima Typographiæ Hispanicæ Ætate Specimen, &c. An Essay

Essay on the first Age of Printing in Spain, by Cabellero, Rome, 1793, 4to. This author enumerates more than three hundred books printed in Spain before the year 1500. The chief places were Barcelona, Burgos, Salamanca, Saragossa, Seville, Toledo, Toloza, Valencia, at which last city the art seems to have first appeared. The printers were almost all Germans.

At Rome has also appeared a Supplement by Tanini, to the Abbé Baudini's Account of Roman Coins posterior to Trajanus Decius. This work, which forms a folio volume, presents many curious additions to the valuable publication of Baudini, well known to all conversant in that science.

Three more volumes have been published of Baudini's Catalogue of the MSS. in the Medicean Library at Florence, forming in all eleven folio volumes.

SPAIN.

Bayer's Defence of his Account of the Samaritan Coins, against Tychsen, has appeared at Valentia. The learned author is since dead; but has left an unpublished work on the Spanish Coins.

Don Francisco Ciscar has published at Madrid, in folio, with numerous plates, his work on the Theory and Practice of Navigation,—a production of great merit.

GERMANY.

De Ferulis, &c. On the Prohibition of the Use of Rods in Schools by the Magistracy of Paris. Dessau, 1794, 8vo. This essay, by Mr. Feder, shews the degrading and pernicious effect of whipping school-boys,—a punishment which tends to harden the mind, and destroy that noble spring of action, an ingenuous shame.

Geschichte des Schul, &c. The History of Schools and Places of Education in Germany, from the Introduction of Christianity to the present Time, by F. E. Ruhkopf, Part I. 1794, 8vo. This is an interesting work. The first institutions for education were convents; and this volume extends from A. D. 722 to 1648.

At Dresden has appeared a French Essay, by J. G. Lipsius, on a Greek Medal of Pertinax, inscribed *ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ ΘΕΩΝ*; and he has also illustrated other medals inscribed *Providentia*.

The seventh volume of Schweighauser's Polybius is published. It contains notes on the fragments: and the eighth and last volume is to illustrate the complete books.

Emendations on the Greek Anthology, by professor Jacobs, have been printed at Leipzig. He intends a new edition of the Anthology.

Professör Tychsen has published, at Rostock, his Introduction to the Knowledge of Mahometan Coins,—a work of considerable labour and value.

Professör Heyne has illustrated five plates of a reputed tomb of Homer, found in the isle of Ios. He shews it to be of the Roman times. The basso-relievos belong to the story of Achilles.

M. Moldenhauer has published, at Hamburgh, the original Process against the Knights Templars, from the Library of St. Germain des Prés at Paris.

S W E D E N.

The fourth volume of Thunberg's Travels has appeared; and, we hope, will soon be translated into English, as well as the three former.

D E N M A R K.

Xenophon's Sokratiske, &c. Xenophon's Memorable Things of Socrates, translated from the Greek by J. Blach, Copenhagen, 1794, 8vo. This translation is well executed; and the notes evince considerable taste and learning. Prefixed is a Dissertation on the Life and Character of Socrates, in which the opinions of the best ancient and modern authors, concerning that wonderful man, are discussed.

Bidrag til Beskrivelse aver St. Croix, &c. An Attempt towards a Description of St. Croix, with a brief Account of St. Thomas, St. John, Tortola, Spanish-Town, and Crab Island, by K. West, Copenhagen, 1793, 8vo. This work is one of the most valuable concerning the Danish possessions in the West Indies, which, though comparatively small, are nevertheless of importance to the commerce of Denmark. The account of the manners of the inhabitants is particularly minute and interesting. The author begins with considering the influence of climate on men and animals; and then proceeds to describe the inhabitants. The mulattoes and free negroes are idle and dissolute, and rather detrimental to the colonies. The domestic negroes are sufficiently at their ease: those employed in cultivating the ground are more exposed to hardships, and to the severity of their masters, though, according to our author, they meet with better treatment than in any other of the West Indian colonies. In the succeeding chapters Mr. West proceeds to offer some remarks on the domestic life of the inhabitants of these islands. The annual expenses of a moderate family amount to about 3000 Danish marks, or about 150l. sterling. Denmark imports from these islands sugar and rum, of the annual value of about 2,200,000 marks: ships employed, about 30. The inhabitants are 1946 whites, 926 free negroes, 21,546 slaves.—The natural history of these islands closes the performance.

Laby-

Labyrinthen, &c. The Labyrinth, or Travels through Germany, Switzerland, and France, by J. Baggesen, Vol. II. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1793. These two first volumes relate only to Germany: the two last are to contain the travels through Switzerland and France. Good sense is a characteristic of the Danes; and the work abounds with new and valuable matter.

Suhm's Samledi Skrifter, &c. Miscellaneous Works of P. H. Suhm, Chamberlain and Historiographer to his Majesty, eleven Vols. 8vo. Copenhagen. Mr. Suhm is well known as one of the most eminent literary characters in Denmark; and this collection does honour to his learning and industry. It consists chiefly of dissertations on various topics of northern history: and a translation of such as are most interesting, particularly that on the Rise and Progress of Agriculture in Denmark, would be highly acceptable.

Descriptio Codicum, &c. An Account of the MSS. of the Greek Anthology, preserved in the Barberini and Vatican Libraries, by Nicolas Schow, Copenhagen, 8vo. The noted Vatican MS. in which the poems ascribed to Anacreon, but rather written in his manner as the original title implies, were recently discovered, is of the tenth century. The other is a modern copy of the first.

P R U S S I A.

Anthousa, oder Rom's Alterthumer, &c. Anthusa, or Roman Antiquities, by C. P. Moritz, Berlin, 8vo. 1794. This work relates to the religious rites of the Romans, and is illustrated with plates from ancient gems. The religion of the Greeks and Romans was cheerful, and connected with the enjoyments of life: they thought that the happiness of man was a hymn to his creator. It is surprising that, in the present age of discussion, no work has appeared on the character and emoluments of the priesthood among the Greeks and Romans. In the Homeric times, the characters of king and priest were often united; and even in the Roman, the augurs, &c. were men of the highest rank. But the priesthood seems to have had no *esprit-de-corps*; on the contrary, the inferior priests, of various temples, were commonly rivals for the public veneration and offerings at their respective shrines. It escapes our recollection that they were considered as an order in society; and we find not in ancient history that they had the smallest influence on public or domestic life.

R U S S I A.

The interesting Travels of Guldenstadt to Mount Caucasus, in the years 1768—1775, left unfinished on the death of the author in 1781, have at length been published at Petersburg, by the celebrated professor Pallas.

A R E V I E W
OF
P U B L I C A F F A I R S,
F R O M
MAY to SEPTEMBER, 1795.

F R A N C E.

BY whatever epithets the ingenuity of men may have distinguished the former ages of the world,—that ours is the age of politics and speculation, will be readily allowed. The ancient governments furnish but a confused lesson, if we wish to apply their example to the state of modern Europe: and though the pictures they exhibit are endeared to classic minds by certain agreeable associations, it would be dangerous to trust the fate of modern institutions to an imitation of systems so little correspondent to our principles and habits. The Christian religion,—the different state of property,—the commercial institutions,—the representative system of government,—the invention of printing, and consequently the more extended diffusion of knowledge,—have placed us in circumstances so opposite to the state of the ancient world, that no precedents from former times can apply to modern politics.

America, the first assertor of liberty in the present times, was enabled by a coincidence of happy and rare events to complete that lesson which she has so gloriously exhibited to an admiring world. France became her pupil, and soon exceeded her model both in extensiveness of design and energy of execution. But the line which separates sublimity

from extravagance is almost imperceptible. From visionary speculation, the republicans of France unhappily ran into practical injustice. Every unfortunate circumstance combined to excite the bad passions; people were irritated by pretended plots and alarms at home, and by an unprincipled foreign league against the independence of the nation. At length, victory abroad appears to have restored tranquillity and moderation at home. Those whose power subsisted on false alarms and fabricated conspiracies, were no sooner detected than they were annihilated; and the chimaera of a revolutionary system being dissipated, the people of France, after years of anarchy, appear desirous of seeking a refuge in a stable and permanent system of government.

In reviewing the new constitution of France, we should recollect that when Solon gave laws to the Athenians, he owned that they were not the best to be conceived in theory, but the best that they could bear.

It appears from the report of Chenier, concerning the internal situation of the republic, on the first of May, that the detestation incurred by Robespierre and his accomplices diminished the horror for the ancient tyrants of France, and that the hopes of the emigrants and other old enemies of the revolution had revived. The emigrants in particular conceived the most flattering hopes; they asserted that they had powerful friends in the republic: and from Switzerland, some of the principals among them dared to return to France and made their way to Paris, where agents were hired to bring the republican cause into disrepute, by procuring some national cockades to be thrown down and trod upon, even at the door of the convention. But these audacities soon arrested the attention of the committees, and decrees were passed, announcing that 'every emigrant who should be found on the territory of the republic should be delivered over to the tribunals to be immediately tried.' The republic being without an approved constitution, the convention applied themselves with a laudable attention to the regulating and fixing of a provisional government in the hands of committees, until a new constitution should be formed and established by the approbation of the majority of the people. It was determined on the 9th of May, 'That the functions vested in the different committees, by the law of the 7th Fructidor, were

to remain in full force in every part that did not militate against the present decree. The committee of public welfare was alone empowered to pass arrets relating to the means of executing all matters that respected their actual functions and powers.

On the 6th of May, Johannot made an important report to the convention, on the situation of the finances. He proposed that the interest of the national debt and the annuities should be paid in future with the utmost regularity, and that a sinking fund should be established for the payment of the principal. 'If the war should last two years longer, says he, the republic will still have several thousand millions of livres applicable to the purposes of a sinking fund.'

He stated the national property at	- - -	2,276,430,410
The national forests, occupying five } millions of acres, he valued at	- - -	2,000,000,000
The lands of the emigrants and } some royal palaces he valued at	- - -	15,226,280,220
The national domains in Belgium	- - -	3,000,000,000
		<hr/>
The whole amounting to	- - -	22,502,710,630
		<hr/>

making above eleven hundred millions sterling. The reporter asserted with the greatest confidence, that this property was sufficient to pay off the national debt, and all the expenses of the war, however long its continuance. Having enumerated the particulars of the resources, he stated that these resources will increase by the adoption of a good system of mortgage. The committee proposed that bills should be issued on the security of the national property remaining unsold. It was proposed that the following funds should be assigned for the payment of assignats;—the money due on the 1st Ventose, for the national property sold, amounting to 2,091,002,714 livres,—the produce of the houses and buildings ordered to be sold by lottery, valued at one thousand millions. Deducting from the national property unsold, amounting to fifteen thousand millions, the seven thousand millions in bills of mortgage, and one thousand millions for rewarding the defenders of the country, there will still be seven thousand millions of livres entirely free and unappropriated.

It was also proposed to coin one hundred and fifty millions of copper

copper money, in order to diminish the quantity of small assignats which at present bear hard upon the poorer classes of the people.

On the 17th of May, a letter from general Pesignon, was communicated to the convention, dated from his head quarters at Figuières, giving an account of a victory which the republican soldiers had gained over the Spaniards, on the 5th. Four columns of the enemy, consisting of about eight thousand men, appeared on the side of the Sistellia, and endeavoured to surround the French troops who defended that post: but they were completely routed and put to flight with considerable loss.

The third day after the reading of this intelligence, the deliberations of the convention were for a few hours totally obstructed by an alarming insurrection in Paris. For several days previous to the 20th, the day of outrage, several placards were stuck up in various parts of Paris, accusing the convention of withholding bread from the people. Some of the deputies were insulted in the streets, and attempts were made to excite the troops in Paris to rise against the convention. At length, on the evening of the 19th, a plan of insurrection was openly distributed in the different sections, prefaced with that alarming political principle—‘That insurrection is the most sacred duty of the people,’ and followed by a determination—‘that the citizens of Paris, of both sexes and of all ages, shall, without any further delay, proceed in a mass to the convention to demand bread,—the abolition of the revolutionary government,—the immediate establishment of the constitution of 1793,—the dissolution of the present convention, and the establishment of another,—the arrest of each of the members who compose the present convention,—the convocation of the primary assemblies on the 25th of Prairial, in order to renew the constitutional authorities, and to replace the national convention by the legislative body, on the 25th of the ensuing Messidor;—that the rallying exclamation shall be “bread and the constitution of 1793.”’

Early on the morning of the 20th, the *tocsin* was rang,—the *generale* beat,—and the convention assembled. The committee of public and general safety, informed on the preceding night of the commotion that was to take place, had adopted the necessary precautions; and as soon as the convention met, a report was presented from the committee of

general safety, relative to the insurrection. A decree was immediately passed, ordering all the citizens to their respective sections, outlawing every person who should head the insurgents, and declaring the sitting permanent.

A proclamation was addressed to the people, and deputies were sent to restore order. The insurgents in the mean time surrounded the convention, and the persons in the tribunes insulted the deputies. The tribunes were ordered to be cleared, and the gendarmes were summoned to defend the convention. Several conflicts now took place between the gendarmes and the insurgents. Loud cries were heard in the environs of the hall. A croud of women burst into the tribunes, crying out 'bread and the constitution of 1793.' These cries were accompanied with actions menacing to the national convention, whose deliberations were for some time suspended. The venerable Vernier, the president, with a majestic energy, commanded silence, and having obtained it, exclaimed,—'We have seen women sent, as it were, by design, into the tribunes, and occasionally go out to receive the orders of the insurgents. Let them know, that, though these murmurs may produce a tempest, yet nothing can induce us to depart from our duty. They demand bread,—and to give them bread is the object of our constant care.—Let the people know that disorder will only stop the supplies of provisions.' The president then ordered, without effect, the left tribunes to be cleared. General Fox was appointed commandant of the armed force: he took an oath before he left the convention, that he would enforce the respect due to it. The insurgents at length obtained possession of the hall of the convention; but some veteran soldiers repelled the besiegers, and there was an interval of tranquillity, for about half an hour; after which, a cry of, 'to arms' was heard on all sides. Bayonets and swords clashed against each other at the door,—a conflict took place,—detachments of the armed force traversed the hall,—three guns were fired; upon which a great crowd entered the hall. A citizen snatched off the hat of one of the mob, upon which was written,—'bread and the constitution of 1793:' the person who had taken off the hat, was immediately assailed with sabres. He flew towards the tribune; but before he had reached it, a musket was fired at him, and he fell by the side of the president. The representative

fire of the people, Ferrand, ran to his assistance; but he also fell under repeated strokes of sabres and pikes. He endeavoured to save himself, but was killed in one of the corridors; and his head was brought into the convention upon a pike. Boissy, who presided, remained firm and immovable amidst the tumult, which still continued to increase. A drum was heard to beat, and immediately there entered an immense number of armed men marching in regular order, and filling the whole hall. A petitioner, in the dress of a cannoneer, read the paper which was before agreed upon, by the insurgents;—he was often interrupted by the acclamations of the immense multitude which filled and surrounded the hall. This was about four o'clock in the afternoon, when the convention resembled more a camp of armed men than an assembly of legislators. The greater part of the deputies had departed: those who remained were principally the favourites of the insurgents, who took advantage of this moment of horror and consternation, to pass several decrees favourable to their faction. Duroi demanded the repeal of the law of the 5th Ventose, which struck the patriots under the name of terrorists:—Goujon, Duquesnoi, and Bourbotte, made several motions, which in like manner favoured the fallen party of Robespierre and Barrere: their propositions were received with the enthusiastic acclamations of the multitude; but this usurped authority was of short duration, and was soon destroyed by a croud of citizens who made their appearance in company with the military, and entered the hall, exclaiming, 'long live the convention, and down with the factious!' It was instantly announced, that if those who prevented all legal deliberations, did not immediately retire, force would be used against them. The multitude, alarmed by this menace, escaped in disorder by the windows. Bourdon de l'Oise, when silence was restored, demanded the repeal of the pretended decrees which were torn from them by violence; and this, with the apprehension of Bourbotte, Duquesnoi, and Duroi, was speedily decreed. It was not in Paris alone that this spirit manifested itself: a letter was read in the convention from the representatives of the people at Marseilles, dated May 20th, announcing an insurrection which had taken place at Toulon, in which Brunel the representative lost his life, by shooting himself after having several times braved the sword of his assassin. Niou,
who

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who was then on board the fleet, hastened to oppose the designs of the insurgents,—but in vain:—they insisted on the liberation of the terrorists. Brunei could not survive the chagrin of having signed the order for their release; and Niou, turning his attention to the naval force, went on board to hasten its departure. The fleet was on the point of sailing; but the Jacobins succeeded in detaining it in the road. The insurgents took possession of the gates of the town, and mounted cannon upon them.

The insurgents marched from Toulon, a little time afterwards, on their way to Marseilles, to the amount of three thousand men, with twelve pieces of cannon, but were soon stopped in their career, by the forces under the command of generals Charton and Pactod, who completely defeated and carried three hundred of them prisoners to Marseilles. By this event, Toulon was again restored to the republic.

The deputy Sevestre, on the 9th of June, in the name of the committee of public safety, informed the convention that the son of Capet had been troubled for some time with a swelling of the right knee, and another of the left wrist,—that his appetite had failed, and a fever succeeded. Demonger the physician, with others eminent in the profession, had attended him; and the committee, faithful to the principles of humanity, had neglected nothing to effect the re-establishment of his health. The disease, however, manifested alarming symptoms, which ended in his death about two o'clock that morning. After his death the body was carefully opened, when the physicians present declared it as their opinion, that the infant had been for a long time afflicted with a scrophulous habit which occasioned his dissolution. The remains were deposited in a wooden coffin, and conveyed to the burying ground of St. Marguerite, in the Fauxbourg St. Antoine.

On the 23d of June, the new constitution was presented to the convention; and it was determined that this new constitution should be presented to the people in their primary assemblies, for their summary rejection or approbation.

The declaration of rights which is prefixed to this constitution, is in essence the same as that which was attached to the former. Several of the articles are also nearly the same: the most material changes consist in the regulation

regulation of the executive power, and the division of the representative body into two parts for the purpose of more mature deliberation. By the fifth title, it is enacted, that the executive power is delegated to a directory of five members, nominated by the legislative body;—the members of this directory must be forty years of age at least, and must have been members of the legislative body, or general agents of execution; but cannot be chosen till the expiration of one year after they have ceased to be members of the legislative body. The directory is partially renewed by the election of a new member every year:—none of the members who have thus gone out, can be re-elected till after an interval of five years.—The directory provides according to the laws for the external and internal security of the republic; it disposes of the armed force,—chooses the generals,—and superintends the execution of the laws and the coining of money.—The legislative body is composed of a council of ancients and a council of five hundred, who are both to reside in the same commune.—The council of the ancients is composed of two hundred and fifty members: one third of the members of each council is renewed every year;—the members therefore are three years in the exercise of their functions; they may be re-elected immediately once; after which there must be an interval of two years before they can be elected again;—each department contributes in proportion to its population only to the members of the two councils, and they are nominated by the electoral assemblies;—the proposition of laws belongs exclusively to the council of five hundred; but the council of the ancients are empowered to approve or reject those propositions;—the resolutions of the council of five hundred, adopted by the council of ancients, are then entitled laws.—The preamble to laws shall set forth the dates of the sittings of the council of ancients in which the three readings of the proposed laws took place:—when the council of ancients have rejected the plan of a law, the same plan cannot be presented to it till after the expiration of two years: nevertheless the council of five hundred may present, during this interval, the plan of a law containing articles which made a part of the plan of the rejected law.

The directory is elected by the two councils in the following

lowing manner,—the council of five hundred is to make out, by secret scrutiny, a list, containing ten times the number of the members of the directory to be elected; from which the council of ancients selects, also by secret scrutiny, the proposed number.

The directory may at all times invite the legislative body in writing, to take a subject into consideration, but cannot propose to it legislative dispositions, except with relation to peace and war.

Under the second title, the political state of citizens is declared. Every Frenchman, being twenty-one years of age, who pays any direct contribution whatsoever, real or personal, is a French citizen. A foreigner may become a French citizen, by being seven years an inhabitant in the republic, provided he pays a direct contribution, and possesses a real property, or an establishment in agriculture or commerce, or has married a French woman. The French citizens alone can vote in the primary assemblies.

The primary assemblies are constituted provisionally, under the presidency of the oldest man:—the youngest fills the office of provisional secretary.

The primary assemblies are to meet solely for the acceptance or rejection of such changes in the constitution as may be proposed by the assemblies of revision;—for the election of the members of the electoral assemblies,—of justices of the peace, and of the assessors,—of the president of the municipal administration of the canton,—or of the municipal officers in communes, containing above 5000 inhabitants:—their meetings are annual.

In the course of their deliberations on the constitution, the convention restored that useful institution, which was a part of the old free constitution of France, *electoral assemblies*. One deputy is appointed to the electoral assembly for every two hundred citizens. These assemblies are to meet annually. They elect the members of the legislative body, that is, the members of the council of ancients; and afterwards the members of the council of five hundred,—2. the members of the tribunal of annulment,—3. the members of the national jury,—4. the president, public accuser, and register of the criminal tribunal of the department,—5. the presidents and judges of the civil tribunals,—6. the administrators of the departments.—7. By another

other article it is ordained, that all these elections shall be made by secret ballot.

Under the seventh title, the tribunal of annulment is established. There is one appointed for the whole republic, to be situated near the legislative body. It is authorised to pronounce on demands of annulment against decisions in the last resort given by the tribunals,—on demands of reference from one tribunal to another,—on grounds of lawful suspicion, or public security. This tribunal cannot investigate the merits of the case; but it annuls sentences passed on trials in which the forms have been violated, or which have been attended with any deviation from the express terms of the law,—and refers the merits of the process to the tribunal which ought to take cognizance of it.

The mode of public instruction is pointed out in the ninth title or chapter. There are in the republic primary schools where the pupils are taught to read, to write, the elements of arithmetic, and those of morality. There are also, in different parts of the republic, schools superior to the primary schools, and to such a number that there shall be at least one for every two departments. The whole republic has a national institution, charged to collect discoveries, and to improve the arts and sciences. Notwithstanding these regulations for public instruction, citizens have a right to form particular establishments of education and instruction, as well as free societies to promote the progress of the arts and sciences.

The eleventh title announces, that the French republic takes up arms only for the maintenance of its liberty,—the preservation of its territory,—and for the defence of its allies. No public treaties are binding till after they have been examined and ratified by the legislative body;—nor war determined upon, except by a decree of the same body, on the formal and necessary proposition of the executive directory.

The last title enacts, that there exists among the citizens no superiority but that of public functionaries, and that only in relation to the exercise of their functions. The law acknowledges neither religious vows, nor any other engagement contrary to the natural rights of man. No man can be hindered from speaking, writing, printing and publishing his thoughts, saving his responsibility before the law. No man can be hindered from exercising the wor-
ship

ship he has chosen, or forced to contribute to the expenses of that which he does not adopt.—There are neither privileged companies,—nor corporations,—nor any limitation to the freedom of commerce, and to the exercise of industry and arts of every kind. The citizens have the liberty of assembling peaceably, and without arms; but no assembly of citizens can call itself a popular society,—or, employing itself upon political questions, can correspond with any other, or affiliate with it, or hold public sittings.

Long and important debates took place in the convention at various times, when the articles of this constitution were separately discussed. On the 17th of July, the celebrated Thomas Paine expressed his wish to give his opinion upon this subject. As that deputy is not well versed in the French language, Lantzenas read the translation of his speech. It stated, that he had been persecuted in England for having opposed the enemies of the people, and that he had been persecuted in France for having defended the rights of the people; yet he did not accuse the people of England, or the people of France, of persecuting him: he only accused the despotism that existed in both those countries. After censuring the condition which the constitutional act requires in order to be classed among the citizens, he asked the assembly what name they would give to the other individuals, who cannot pay any contributions. This article he called a violation of the three first articles of the declaration of rights.—He contended, that, if such an article was decreed, future legislatures would only have to rest upon it, in order to deprive whom they might please of the right of a citizen: for if the *minimums* of the contribution and of the possession be not specified, the rich who will pay much, will be the only citizens; hence would result a line of demarcation, a species of incongruity between the rights of man and those of the poor. His speech concluded with a motion ‘that this part of the constitution be referred to a commission of revision.’ Several members moved for the printing of his speech; but the convention passed to the order of the day on his motion, and on the motion for the printing of his speech.

Abbé Syeyes exerted his eminent talents for the appointment of a constitutional jury for the purpose of preserving the constitution pure and incorrupt: but his motion was overruled; and the new constitution as presented by the committee

mittee of eleven, with some alterations, received the sanction of the convention. It was then ordered to be sent to the primary assemblies and the armies for their absolute acceptance or rejection.—It was also decreed, that the people, after they had accepted the constitution, should immediately proceed to the election of representatives, *two thirds* of whom were to be chosen from among the members of the present convention, and the other third to consist of new representatives.

To conclude this subject, in the language of Rousseau on another occasion, ‘it still remains to be proved, whether this new *philosophy*, when in the quiet possession of her throne, will be able to command and regulate with propriety, the various interests,—the ambitious views,—and the little passions of men,—and whether she will reduce to practice that system of humanity, which she has painted in theory with such fascinating charms*.’

It was in the midst of these discussions, that the convention received the agreeable intelligence of the defeat of the emigrants in the peninsula of Quiberon. On the 9th Thermidor, immediately before the celebration of the anniversary of the destruction of Robespierre, Tallien rushed into the tribune, amidst the loudest acclamations of joy, with the dispatches relative to this important victory. To use the energetic language of this legislator, ‘the committee of public safety had ordered him and the deputy Blad to conquer,—and they conquered: the emigrants, supplied with shipping, provisions, and ammunition by the English, set their feet upon their natal soil; but their natal soil, recoiling at their crimes, devoured them; and the British minister lost the fruit of his vile intrigues. Three thousand men, from the army of the north, attacked fort Penthievre, and the intrenched camp of the emigrants. In defiance of all the difficulties of the ground, and in the midst of a dreadful tempest, the fort and the intrenched camp were stormed and taken. The army of the emigrants intending to restore despotism, amounting to ten thousand men, was compelled to throw down their arms and take shelter upon a rock. The English began to fire from their frigates on both the emigrants and republicans.

This signal action took place on the night of the 20th of July.—General Hoche, in conducting the attack, evinced the greatest talents and infinite coolness.’

* Emile, Tom. iii. p. 199.

Young Sombreuil, who commanded five regiments which had arrived a few days before, with the bishop of Dol and all his clergy, were among the emigrants taken. The republican troops, after having displayed the most brilliant courage, behaved with much humanity towards the wounded and the prisoners. The articles taken exceeded the most sanguine expectation:—there were computed to be ten thousand stand of arms, one hundred and fifty thousand pair of shoes, and magazines and cloathing for an army of forty thousand men. Six ships that arrived the evening before the action, laden with rum, brandy, and provisions, fell also into the hands of the republicans. The regiment of M. d'Hervilly suffered most severely in the action:—of sixteen hundred privates and ninety officers, there remained only one hundred and eighty of the former, and thirty of the latter. M. de Puisaye effected his retreat, but in a manner not the most honourable to himself. M. de Sombreuil's corps behaved with the greatest bravery:—it was not till fort Penthièvre had been surrendered to the republicans, that he was informed of the danger of his position: he immediately made the necessary dispositions to resist the republicans:—the combat was bloody and the slaughter dreadful: of thirteen hundred men, forty-nine only are said to have escaped. Soon after this defeat, dispositions were made for trying the prisoners. The bishop of Dol, all his clergy who had accompanied him on the expedition, M. Sombreuil, and most of the emigrant chiefs, afterwards underwent that punishment which all nations, with a policy perhaps too severe and illiberal, inflict upon rebels in arms.

The overthrow of this expedition was at least facilitated by the intrigues which the emissaries of the English minister made use of in procuring forces for the emigrant corps. Spies were sent to those prisons which contained thousands of Frenchmen, who, bravely fighting for the liberty of their country, had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of their enemies. Of these, partly by bribes, partly by threats, and most of all by a desire to regain their liberty and visit their native soil, many were induced to enlist under the banners of despotism, consecrated by the bishop of Dol. At the hours of shutting up the prisons, those fixed upon were taught to loiter behind, otherwise the enraged republicans would have used violence against those about to become traitors to their cause: thus the doors being locked upon those inimical to the emigrants,

grants, the others who *pretended* to embark in their cause were carried off in safety : but when they arrived in France, the forced agreement made in a prison was totally forgotten ; they rushed into the ranks of their former comrades, and turned their bayonets against their seducers.

The convention received intelligence, about the same time, that the army of the eastern Pyrenees had gained another victory. Eighteen small vessels were sent to take possession of an important post on the sea-side ; so vigorous a firing, however, was kept up by the republicans from the shore, that the vessels were obliged to steer off with considerable loss.

On the 24th of July, the deputy Fermont, in the name of the committee of public safety, informed the convention that a letter had been received from their colleague, Niou, stating that the Toulon fleet, having met that of the English near the Herès isles, did not think it prudent to risk a battle on account of their inferiority in point of number and force. The French fleet accordingly set sail towards their port ; the wind which had blown fresh for some time, on a sudden died away, and the English came up with the rear-guard of the French fleet ; an action commenced ; the Alcide received considerable damage in her rigging : the captain of the Alceste frigate braved the fire of the British line for the purpose of taking her in tow : but the Alcide having taken fire, the Alceste was forced to quit her, and she soon blew up :—many lives were saved by the assistance of the English ; the other French ships arrived safe in the gulph of Frejus.

On the 29th of July, the deputy Treilhard, the reporter of the committee of public safety, informed the convention that the army of the western Pyrenees had gained another victory over the enemy ; but why, continued the reporter, should I employ the word ?—Spain is no longer an enemy to France ; upon which he immediately announced to the assembly, that a peace had been concluded with that nation. The treaty consisted of twelve articles : it was signed at Basle, on the 22d of July, by Mr. Barthelemy on the part of the French republic, and by don Domingo D'Yriarte on the part of Spain. By this treaty, France relinquished all the conquests which she had made upon the Spanish territory, and restored all the cannon and ammunition

taken in the several towns which had fallen into her hands. In consideration of this restitution, Spain ceded to the French republic all the Spanish part of St. Domingo, together with all the cannon and ammunition contained in it. The republic also agreed to accept the king of Spain's mediation in favour of the kings of Portugal, Sardinia, and Naples, the duke of Parma, and all the other Italian princes. The Dutch republic was also included in the treaty—By this treaty another of the *regular* governments of Europe was taken out of the combination against France; not only a deep wound was inflicted upon the coalition, but a severe blow is thus aimed at the power of the British in the West Indies, and an impediment is thrown in the way of their operations in the Mediterranean.

The deputy Girault Pouzolles, on the 8th of August, made a report to the convention against the denounced members.—‘The violent crises of the revolution, said the reporter, have produced great misfortunes and great crimes; and humanity has often been forced to mourn. Robespierre was considered for a long time as an excellent patriot, and the people would see nothing but with his eyes; he abused his popularity to assassinate the best friends of his country; but the tyrant has been punished, and humanity has resumed her empire; some followers of the regimen of Robespierre have since attempted to regain their powers; but they failed in their project. The 12th Germinal and the 1st Priarial redoubled the energy of the true republicans, and assured the triumph of principles; great crimes were committed, and the heads of the guilty fell under the sword of the law; if there still exist guilty members, you will punish them, but without obeying the sentiments of vengeance: it is crimes and not errors that you wish to punish.’

When the reporter and his colleagues had pointed out the crimes of the accused deputies, with the evidence against them, the convention decreed the arrest of the following members, viz.—Liquino—Lanou—Lefiat—Dupin—Bo—Piorry—Maffieu—Chaudron Rousseau—Fouche of Nantes—and Laplanche.

To convince the people that the late naval defeats had not averted the attention of the convention from the re-establishment of its vigour, the committee of public safety, on the 10th of August, presented a report relative to the

marine. It stated that the committee had been incessantly employed in repairing the evils done to the navy of the republic; they had examined all the arsenals, the magazines, and ship-yards;—they were aided and backed by a wise administration;—they consulted the experience of general officers deeply versed in their art;—they had singled out from among the captains those who were the most worthy to command, and accused before courts martial all those who were suspected of cowardice. The committee adopted a new system of naval attack which they thought the most agreeable to the political situation of the country. They affirmed that this new system would far better consult the interest of the nation, than the proud and ostentatious display of naval power, which at best could only flatter personal pride, while it exhausted to no purpose the resources of the republic. They were of opinion that by multiplying armed privateers they might rekindle in maritime towns that ardour and activity, without which commerce for a moment could not exist. The committee proposed that every French citizen should be permitted to fit out ships against the enemies of the republic, and that the government would support such citizens.

They suggested to the convention that by a large number of small armed ships of the republic, and the privateers of individuals, the commerce of England, on which its political existence depended, might be destroyed, and an opportunity given for retaliation against the British government, which had long endeavoured to organise in the bosom of France, famine, civil war, burnings, and all the crimes upon which the ministers of that country feed their detestable policy. The propositions met with the approbation of the deputies, and decrees were immediately passed for the purpose of aiding the execution of the new plan of marine operations.

When the death of the son of Louis the unfortunate was announced to the oldest of his uncles, he retired for a few days, with the affected solemnity of a courtier, to weep and to mourn: but the *pretended* title of king having absorbed his tears, he soon published a manifesto replete with pompous egotism. It began with stating a parallel between *himself* and Henry the fourth!!!—and afterwards it asserted with equal modesty and truth, ‘that the go-

vernment which the people of France have destroyed, and which *he* declares he will restore in all its *purity*, was the master-piece of wisdom, established by God himself, and afforded equal protection to all persons and to all property, —to the cottage of the poor and the palace of the rich, —to personal freedom and to public safety.' Pardon is promised to the armies, certainly through his inability to punish them; but it is very doubtful whether they, formed upon principles so very opposite to those of the old system, and naturally proud of the unexampled victories they have obtained, will be very eager to throw themselves at the feet of Louis the *Pretender*, and implore his pardon, as a previous step to aspiring to his favour.—Pardon is also held out to all revolutionists, except those who voted for the death of Louis XVI. or that of his queen. —But his pardon loses all its value by the ungracious manner in which it is introduced; besides the unwillingness that would attend suing for pardon in those who are in possession of power, there is no mention made of pardon to the pretended Louis XVIII. himself, who at one time was a great revolutionist, and the most forward of all the men in Paris, to volunteer in revolutionary oaths.

A few days after the convention had sent the new constitution to the primary assemblies, accompanied with orders to decide upon it on the 6th of September, two of the sections of Paris came and remonstrated against the late decree which directed the people to choose two thirds of the present convention into the legislative body. The president replied, 'that the army round Paris had already accepted the constitution with joyful acclamations.' Farther remonstrances were soon after offered against the assembling of a large military force round the capital. It has however been remarked, that 'if ever necessity could be a sufficient plea for such a step, it is in the present case, when almost every Jupiter upon an European throne has sent his Mercury to seal up the waking eyes of Argus with their caduceuses, and bear away the sacred charge.'

G R E A T B R I T A I N.

'We have not been *scratched* by the war,' was the too confident assertion of a British senator, while the armies of his country were daily diminishing by the irresistible military

tary power of France, hospitals filling with the mutilated and wounded, and famine and wretchedness but too prevalent in the interior of the kingdom.

That the restoration of the old arbitrary government of France, and of the *popish religion*, is the real object of the war, may safely be inferred, not only from the proclamation of Louis XVIII. but from that of the emigrants at Quiberon. Whether these are objects on which the blood and treasure of England ought to be lavished, the approaching general election will, we hope, determine. When Prussia and Spain had prudently withdrawn themselves from the confederacy, we did flatter ourselves that administration would have at least *endeavoured* to restore the inestimable blessings of peace to this country. *Indemnity for the past, and security for the future*, are given as the professed objects to be obtained by the continuance of the war. But, notwithstanding the firmness of the monarchical form of government, the courts of Berlin and Madrid have broken their treaties with us, with as much facility as the French convention could possibly have done, and made peace with the common enemy without *indemnity for the past*. Is there any probability that England will ever be indemnified for the loss of fifty thousand lives,—for the expenditure of near ONE HUNDRED MILLIONS sterling,—for the waste of so many of the necessities of life,—for the decline of our manufactures, and the miseries of the poor? If there be no probability of this indemnity, then one of the two bases on which the minister has grounded his justification of the war, falls to the ground. And as to *security for the future*—the only security that two nations can have, consists in their mutual interests, and in the general advantages which all mankind must experience in a state of tranquillity. Notwithstanding the language of the minister and the court respecting the firmness and security in treating with monarchical governments, an impartial inquirer into the conduct of the monarchs of Europe during the last forty years, must evidently perceive that they have been neither invariable in their peaceable intentions, moderate in their wishes, nor faithful to their treaties; but that they have been too lavish of the lives of their subjects, whenever, by rashly entering into bloody wars, they imagined they could extend their territory or satisfy their ambitious views. He would also find that it is not republics

alone which are restless and remorseless in their principles, and that they are not the only enemies to the repose of the world.

Hence, it may be inferred, that Great Britain would find no more *security for the future*, in treating with the French under a monarchical form of government, after exhausting her resources in aiding to establish it, than she would have at present in treating with them as republicans; but on the contrary it follows as a clear deduction, that if she persists in carrying on the war for an end so improbable, she will risque the happiness and prosperity of the people, and possibly the existence of her own government and constitution. It has been said that the present administration protract the war with all its appendages of human misery, for the mean and despicable purpose of retaining their places,—or wish its continuance for the purpose of exercising that immense augmentation of authority and influence, which a war always gives. But to assent to this, would be to accuse them at once of the basest avarice and of the grossest tyranny, and to include them in the assertion of Erasmus—*'Sunt qui non aliam ob causam bellum movent nisi ut hac via facilius in se tyrannidem exerceant.'*

Whatever may be the real intentions of ministers, we are unable to discover; but we find them, contrary to our hopes and expectations, resisting every application for peace both within parliament and without.

On the 27th of May, Mr. Wilberforce made, conformably to the previous notice he had given, a motion for peace. After enumerating, with his usual eloquence and energy, the cogent arguments which have lately been so often urged in that house in favour of the blessings of tranquillity in preference to the horrors of war,—he expressed his fears, that a continuance of hostilities might cause an alteration in the sentiments of the people of America, with whom Great Britain had lately adjusted some differences; because the public rejoicings which the Americans had exhibited upon receiving intelligence of the conquest of Holland by the French, sufficiently declared their disapprobation of any attempt to restore the old despotic monarchy in France. The further continuance of the war, he observed, might have the effect also of impressing on the minds of the inhabitants of the United States, an opinion, that Great Britain was eager to wage war against *all republics*; and in that case the seeds of enmity might be sown against
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this nation, to a dangerous extent. After having made a long and impressive speech upon the necessity of at least endeavouring to effect a peace, Mr. Wilberforce moved, 'that it is the opinion of this house, that the present government of France is such as not to preclude the administration of this country from entertaining a proposal for a general pacification, and that they ought to enter into a negotiation for peace whenever the same can be done in terms of safety, and in an honourable manner.'

Mr. Duncombe seconded the motion, and strongly urged that all the hopes that had been expressed at the commencement of the war had been long since dissipated, and that the expectation which had been held out of *starvation*, had been so completely frustrated as to excite a fear that Providence was about to punish the malignant attempt by hurling that direful calamity upon the heads of those that first imagined it.

In reply to the arguments made use of by the advocates for peace, the ministerial side of the house had recourse to the old vocabulary prepared by their leader, Mr. Pitt, for the convenience and information of a majority of the members, wherein *permanent government—monarchical form—indemnity for the past—security for the future—the accustomed relations of peace and amity*,—and similar common-place-phrases really stand in the place of reason and argument. It is an unfortunate state of things, when the prettiness of diction is more attended to in public debate, than strength of sentiment, or preponderance of sense. It is almost unnecessary to add, that Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and fifteen. Mr. Pitt's proposal for a loan to the emperor, which the opposition exclaimed against as improvident in the extreme, was more successful.

On the 28th of May, the chancellor of the exchequer moved, 'that provision should be made for guaranteeing the payment of the dividends on the loan of 4,600,000*l.* raised on account of the emperor of Germany, conformably to a convention with the emperor, signed on the 4th of May 1795.'

Mr. Pitt prefaced this motion, by observing to the house, that, with respect to the security to be given for the loan, the emperor had assigned his hereditary revenues as a mortgage, and suitors were furnished with the power of prosecuting his imperial majesty *in his own courts*.—As a further

ther security, the actions of the bank of Vienna had been deposited to an amount greater than that of the loan.—He also observed that this country was not a guarantee to the lenders for the principal, but for the payment of the interest; and that even if any failure should occur in the payment of one half year's interest, yet such failure did not oblige Great Britain to make good any more than the amount of that failure.—The house was also given to understand, that 550,000*l.* had been already advanced to the emperor, and that, in return for the loan, his imperial majesty had agreed to furnish two hundred thousand men to fight against the common enemy, the French. After Mr. Fox had urged some cogent arguments against the motion, the house divided, and there appeared a large majority in its favour.

The business respecting the debts of the prince of Wales occupied a considerable share of the attention of the house of commons. On the 24th of June, lord Cholmondeley stated to the house of lords, that he was authorised by his royal highness to say, 'that he would acquiesce in whatever measures the wisdom of parliament might think proper to recommend.' This message introduced a long debate, in which the duke of Clarence engaged as an advocate for his royal brother. In the course of his speech, his highness observed, that the authors of the bill then before their lordships, instead of allowing his brother the merit of taking *measures of his own accord to pay his creditors*, had taken the popularity of such a step out of his hands to place it in their own. He also observed, that it was a notorious fact, that when the marriage of his royal highness was agreed upon, there was a stipulation, that in the event of that union, he should be exonerated from his debts. He contended that his brother could only understand by this stipulation that measures should be taken for the immediate payment of those debts—not, as by the provisions of the present bill, that they should be left hanging over for the space of nine years and a half. His highness said that he knew persons in another place, who possessed great powers of eloquence, and abundant choice of expression, which they willingly and freely made use of to gild and emblazon in false colours the improvident and lavish measures of *granting a subsidy of 200,000*l.* a year to the king of Sardinia, a sum of 1,200,000*l.* to the king of Prussia, and lately the loan of 4,600,000*l.* to the emperor!*

peror ! But when the heir to the crown applied for a *small* pecuniary aid, they prefaced what they had to propose with 'an unpleasant task—an arduous undertaking—the distresses of the people, &c.' On the next day, lord Thurlow took a view of the bill, and complained that the prince had been very hardly dealt by,—that he had been grossly libelled in pamphlets,—and whoever the authors were, whether pensioners or not, or whoever they intended to flatter, he hoped they would be brought to condign punishment. His lordship was also of opinion, that the choice of the commissioners for arranging his debts should have been left to his royal highness; but he professed his persuasion, that the bill must be hereafter amended : it passed, however, a few days afterwards, without any alteration.

This parliament, so celebrated for granting away the money of the people, concluded the session by passing a bill for allowing a million and a half to be raised on exchequer bills for the purpose of aiding the credit of merchants trading in Grenada and St. Vincent's.

On the 27th of June, his majesty went to the house of peers, and after having signified his assent to several bills, prorogued the parliament till the 5th day of August. In his speech from the throne, he made no mention of new treaties with the empress of Russia and the emperor of Germany ; but he expressed a hope, ' that the present circumstances of France would, in their effects, hasten the return of such a state of order and *regular government* as might be capable of maintaining the accustomed relations of amity and peace with other powers.'

Fortunately for the ministers, dispatches arrived at the admiralty in time to afford his majesty an opportunity of announcing to his parliament a victory obtained over the French, by a detachment of his fleet under the conduct of lord Bridport,

On the 23d of June, lord Bridport with the squadron under his command attacked the enemy's fleet close in with port L'Orient. The ships which struck were the *Alexander*, *Le Formidable*, and *Le Tigre*, which were with difficulty retained. If the enemy had not been protected and sheltered by the land, his lordship had reason to believe the number would have been greater. Early on that morning, the headmost ships, the *Irresistible*, *Orion*, *Queen Charlotte*, *Rusel*, *Colossus*, and *Sans-pareil*, were nearly up with the enemy ;

enemy, and a little before six o'clock the action began, and continued till near nine o'clock. When the ships struck, the British Squadron was near to some batteries, and in the face of a strong naval port. This advantage was attended with the loss of about one hundred men killed and wounded. The effects of this intelligence were considerably abated by the hardships which the most useful order of society in Great Britain suffered about this time through the enormous price of all kinds of provisions, especially that most essential article, bread. This scarcity, if not entirely caused, had been at least greatly increased by the exportation of the necessaries of life to our allies on the continent, and the absurd expedition to Quiberon. Even at the moment when many of the more opulent part of the community were exerting their benevolence and charity to alluage the clamour of the poor for bread, the British minister was sending ships laden with provisions and stores for the assistance of the rebels on the western shores of France, and issuing public edicts, *that supplies should be sent to them while they continued to proceed in their system of plunder and destruction.* These circumstances, we are sorry to add, induced the suffering poor, in riotous multitudes, to commit many unwarrantable acts in various parts of the kingdom. On the 13th of July, a mob which had disturbed the repose of the metropolis for several evenings before, had the audacity to attack the house of Mr. Pitt in Downing street, the windows of which they broke, and were proceeding to further violence, when they were prevented by the arrival of the horse and foot guards. The populace then proceeded to St. George's Fields, where they nearly demolished two crimping-houses, and burned the furniture in the streets. Among the many riots on account of the dearth and scarcity of provisions, that which took place on the 6th of August, at Barrow on Soar, in the county of Leicester, was attended with the most melancholy effects. The inhabitants of that and the adjacent villages had been in great distress for want of bread, the bakers not having been able to procure flour for several days before. On that morning they seized a load of wheat which was passing that way, and arranged the sacks against the church-yard wall at Barrow. A compromise soon took place, through the interference of some well-meaning gentlemen in the neighbourhood, between the rioters and the owner of the wheat :

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it was agreed that the corn should be sold and distributed among the adjacent parishes. Notwithstanding this, the volunteer cavalry soon afterwards arrived from Leicester, and having been, as they conceived, insulted by the mob, unexpectedly fired upon them, when William Oliver, Joseph Raven, John Mitchel and William Roper were killed, and nine others wounded. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict '*justifiable homicide*.' In the midst of this scarcity of provisions, the English minister contrived that a Russian fleet should enter the British channel, and receive an ample supply of provisions from our markets. The service which the nation has at present received from the Russians in return, is that of aiding it to commence hostilities against the republic of Holland,—a measure which sound politicians will not consider as prudent, and which might probably have been avoided by negotiation.

I R E L A N D.

Whatever may have been the form of government, or the measures of its administrators, this kingdom has laboured under the misfortune of frequent intestine riots and commotions. Its present state is by no means exempted from that calamity. We find that, at the assizes of Athy, on the motion of the attorney-general, six men were brought to the bar and arraigned of *high-treason*. The indictment was for compassing the king's death, and also for adhering to his enemies. They were charged with, 'forming a party of the defenders to assist the French, if they should invade Ireland, and meeting for that purpose,—encouraging a soldier of the North Mayo militia to join them, by assuring him that the French would soon land, and they (the prisoners) would back them,—and lastly, meeting to admit persons previously sworn into this party.'

Counsel were then assigned at the request of the prisoners;—two of the prisoners, O'Connor and Griffin, were also charged with high-treason, by another indictment, for administering an oath, 'to be true to the French.' They were remanded to prison, and the assizes adjourned till the 31st of August.

Soon after this the city of Dublin was alarmed by the mutiny of a Manchester regiment of fencibles, who refused, with arms in their hands, to be drafted into other regiments,

ments, and to be sent abroad, With some difficulty, however, and after flogging one or two of the ring-leaders (to death, according to some accounts), they were, by the assistance of other soldiers more obedient to military command, obliged to submit.

On the 29th of August, eleven persons, who were of the body of defenders, were apprehended in the city of Dublin, upon a charge of high-treason, and committed to prison in separate cells. Early in the morning, alderman James, and several constables well armed, set out in detachments to different parts of the town, to the residences of the persons against whom information had been lodged, and surprised them in their beds. Upon all or most of these men, were found copies of the defenders' oath—to be true to George the Third—not his majesty—but a defender chief in the county of Meath, and the third son of a gentleman of property in that county.

WEST INDIES.

From dispatches which were received by government about the 26th of June, and from other sources of intelligence, the British affairs in the West Indies, appear to be in the most alarming situation. St. Vincent's was, at the date of the dispatches, in the utmost danger; and, both in Grenada and St. Lucia, the English troops had been repulsed by the insurgents with considerable loss. The reduction of St. Eustatius was effected by the French almost without opposition. In St. Vincent's, the Charibbs, instigated by the French, and joined by most of the French inhabitants, seized a favourable opportunity, attacked the English inhabitants, and committed great depredations upon their property.

About the same time several vessels from England, with troops and supplies on board, fell into the hands of the enemy; and this loss, together with the mortality among those which were already stationed there, seems for the present to have paralysed the efforts of the British force in that quarter.

Of the last outward-bound Jamaica fleet, eight or nine with valuable cargoes have also been taken.

GERMANY.

After long and tedious discussions in the Diet of Ratisbon, the princes of the empire or their proxies, on the 3d of July, came to a *conclusum* respecting the great question, whether a negotiation for peace should be entered into with the French republic. In their decree upon this subject, they declare that the readiness and willingness of the empire to open negotiations for peace should be immediately announced to France,—that the time as well as the place for the mutual congress to be held, should be immediately adjusted,—that the king of Prussia should be requested, agreeably to his repeated assurances, to lend his assistance towards the attainment of a general peace.

After this *conclusum* of the princes had been sent to his imperial majesty, the diet of Ratisbon waited for above three weeks, earnestly expecting his imperial decree of ratification. On the 5th of August, an express from Vienna brought the wished-for decree, dated the 29th of July.

His imperial majesty in that ratification thanked the German states for their attachment to the supreme head; he particularly approved of that part of the advice of the empire, which declared that the whole restitution of territory, and the security of the Germanic constitution, ought to form the basis of a treaty of peace; and he also expressed his willingness to enter into a negotiation for the purpose of restoring peace to the empire. He assured the diet that he would do every thing in his power to obtain an armistice; but he did not fix the place for the holding of a congress. He felt no conviction himself that a mediator was necessary; but as the majority of the votes of the diet had announced a desire to accept the mediation of his Prussian majesty, he readily complied with that desire.

In consequence of this ratification, measures were soon after taken to enter into a negotiation with the French republic; and as Switzerland was then the scene of other important negotiations, it was adopted as a proper place for this. The progress of the negotiation has hitherto been tardy,—whether impeded by the tedious formality of German etiquette, by the difficulty of adjusting the terms, or the jarring interests which are implicated in the business, we have not been able to learn.

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The landgrave of Hesse Cassel, however, less ceremonious than the diet of Ratisbon, has already concluded a separate peace with the French republic. In the treaty of peace and amity between these two powers, it is stipulated, that the prince of Hesse Cassel shall not in any case hereafter be subsidised by Great Britain during the war. To this we have only to add, that it would have been happy for the repose of his own subjects, and advantageous to this country, if his serene highness had made a similar convention twenty years before.

H O L L A N D.

Soon after a treaty of alliance had been agreed upon between the French and Dutch republics, a plan was formed for calling together the burghers of the seven provinces, in order to chuse the members of a national convention: this plan was approved of by the provisional representatives of the province of Holland, with enthusiastic acclamations. On the 28th of August, the same was brought by solemn deputation, and laid before their high mightinesses, as the *vetum* of the provisional representatives of the province of Holland. It stated, that the president of the national convention, as soon as he should be named, should immediately declare, that the body then met was the representative body of all the inhabitants of the Netherlands,—that, the constitution being declared, the assembly of the states-general should be dissolved,—the whole business of government, and the exercise of the supreme authority belonging to the people, should be confided to the convention,—and that all provincial assemblies throughout the whole country should be declared null and of no effect.

P R U S S I A.

His Prussian majesty, in a declaration, dated the 1st of May, to the states of the empire, respecting the treaty which he had concluded with the French republic, states that the expenses and losses of the war,—the impossibility of attaining its object,—and the universal distress of the empire,—were the principal inducements to the measures he had taken: he in consequence offered his mediation to the states of Germany, and preferred a strong claim to their gratitude for his patriotic interference. Respecting Great Britain,
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he observes, that when the states of Germany, from not supplying him with provisions and other requisites, were about to compel him to withdraw his troops from the Rhine, she *generously* offered him subsidies, which, being accepted by him, had enabled him to continue the war: 'yet, added he, those subsidies, which cannot be considered but as a very inconsiderable support, had scarcely begun to be paid, when they ceased altogether, and the whole burden of the war fell upon his majesty's shoulders.'

Since his Prussian majesty's alliance with the French republic, we find he has taken, by his conduct towards them, every occasion of manifesting his friendship and fidelity.

Several of the refugee Hollanders having assembled in the districts of Osnaburgh and Hanover, and formed themselves into military corps for the purpose of aiding the exiled stadtholder in recovering his government, the king of Prussia, to take off all cause of suspicion on the part of France, ordered an official note to be presented to citizen Pinfot, the French *chargé d'affaires* in the United Netherlands, and by him communicated to the states-general, purporting that his Prussian majesty had signified to the regencies of those districts in which the Dutch assembled as above, the dangerous tendency of encouraging such proceedings, and that his majesty had taken efficacious means of disbanding those who had collected into bodies.

A M E R I C A.

The treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, lately concluded between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, has caused a considerable contention among the Americans; and a considerable party, both as to number and influence, has complained of the conduct of Mr. Jay, who was deputed to settle some differences between the contracting powers. They contend that the language of the treaty is too humiliating to the United States,—that some of the stipulations are degrading, and contrary to national justice, particularly that relative to the tonnage of their vessels trading to the West Indies,—and that the treaty settles none of the disputed points, but leaves them all for future adjustment. On the contrary, a very respectable and powerful party, with the venerable Washington at their head, urge the necessity of maintaining peace and amity with the English nation, which must be attended

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in their opinions with so many advantages to the rising commerce of America; and argue with no inconsiderable force, that, by maintaining a strict neutrality while almost all Europe is involved in war, they are silently but gradually monopolising the trade of the whole world. In consequence of the probable advantages of the treaty, the senate resolved on the 24th of June, that they do consent to, and advise the president of the United States to ratify the said treaty concluded at London on the 19th of November, *on condition* that there should be added to it an article, whereby it should be agreed to suspend so much of the operation of the 12th article, as respects the trade which his majesty thereby *consents* may be carried on between the United States and his islands in the West Indies, in the manner, and on the terms therein specified: and the senate recommended to the president to proceed, without delay, to farther friendly negotiations with his majesty on the subject of the said trade, and of the terms and conditions in question.

T U R K E Y.

Intelligence from Constantinople announced, that on the 29th of June, citizen Verninac had an audience of admission from the grand vizier. After expressing the grateful sense which the French republic had of the Sublime Porte's refusal to take up arms against them, citizen Verninac proceeded—'History will not forget this glorious title of the Sublime Porte, when it shall represent in the most lively colours the memorable epocha when the French people were forced to unite to the right of their cause, the right of their avenging sword and that of victory; when they have given to the world the most brilliant example which ever did honour to the human race.'

The grand vizier in his answer expressed the strongest sentiments of amity and affection which the Sublime Ottoman Porte had for the French, and gave assurances of their continuance.—'We, said the vizier, on our side, shall second you with a constant and exact attention. Besides this, we see with an entire satisfaction, that the citizen envoy our friend, worthy of reputation for his inestimable qualities, has been appointed by the French republic, our friend, to come and reside near the Sublime Porte.'

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